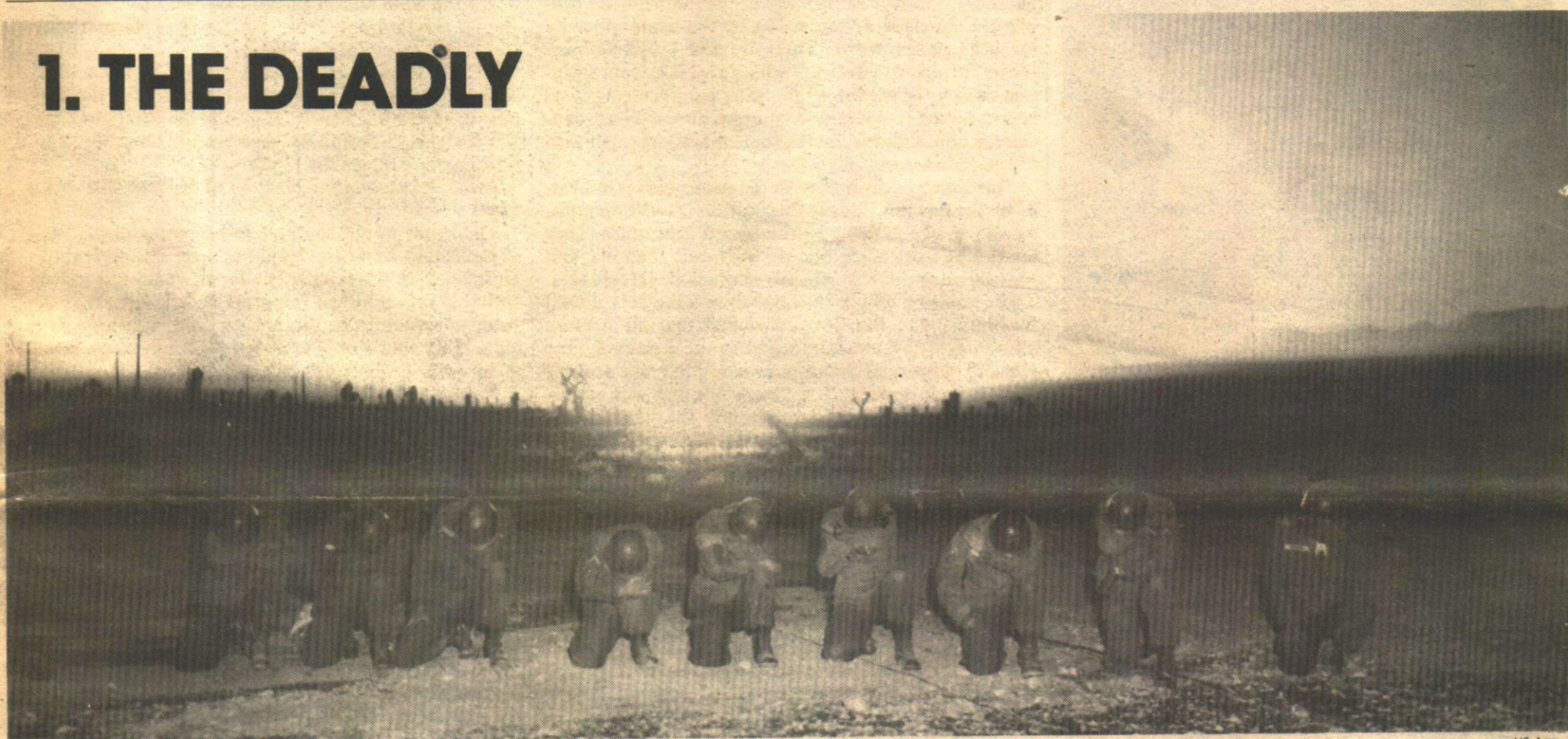




TWO TYPES OF GOVERNMENT RESEARCH

1. THE DEADLY



U.S. Army

2. THE SUPPRESSED

A STUDY
OF LIFETIME HEALTH AND
MORTALITY EXPERIENCE OF
EMPLOYEES OF
E.R.D.A. CONTRACTORS
FINAL REPORT NO. 13

By Dr. Thomas F. Mancuso

CANCELLED

A special section looks at new evidence that "safe" doses of radiation causes high levels of cancer, and at government efforts to suppress that evidence.

THE INSIDE STORY

Guest Column by Helen Hopps



Basker Vashee

David van Dijk

Zimbabwe: chances of civil war grow

Ian Smith and three black nationalist leaders, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, and Chief Jeremiah Chirau have signed an agreement that supposedly brings majority rule to Zimbabwe Dec. 31. But what kind of a settlement has actually been worked out? Does it in fact bring majority rule to Zimbabwe? Whose rights does it guarantee? And how can independence be scheduled when the negotiations have excluded the Patriotic Front, the alliance of ZANU and ZAPU that has been fighting a guerilla war against the Smith regime.

Several days before the agreement was signed, but after many weeks of internal settlement talks, Basker Vashee, Managing Director of the Transnational Institute in Amsterdam, was interviewed in Washington, D.C. Vashee, a Zimbabwean who spent three years in solitary confinement in one of Ian Smith's jails, has represented the Patriotic Front in Europe. The interviewer is Helen Hopps, a fellow of the Transnational Institute in Washington, D.C., and an expert in Southern African affairs.

Q: Do you consider the internal settlement a sign that Ian Smith has conceded to the black majority of Zimbabwe?

A: No because if one looks at the settlement it is clear that power is not being transferred. But if we answer the question just about Smith, we'd have to say yes and no. Only a year ago Smith said he would not see majority rule in his lifetime; in fact, he is the man who said he wouldn't see majority rule in this century. So he has been forced to accept the principle of majority rule. He is under pressure.

How much of that pressure is due to the economic sanctions imposed on Rhodesia?

The economic situation is bad, and this is in part due to sanctions. However, 40 percent of the national budget goes for the defense forces. Increasingly resources are being used for security operations. The guerilla army has kept up the pressure, and the Mozambican government has made the courageous decision to close its border with Zimbabwe. At one time 40 percent of Rhodesian trade was conducted through Mozambique, and this had to be diverted to South Africa, which is

enormously expensive.

Another reason for the bad economic climate is the drain on manpower and the lack of skills. Most of the white population is increasingly being mobilized for the army, and there are many industries in which the lack of skills has brought about temporary holdups in production. Whites are leaving the country at a rate of about 1,000 a month, and more would leave if they could take their money with them. The war has hurt Smith and forced him to bargain.

Will the Patriotic Front continue the war?

The Patriotic Front will be under a lot of pressure to be involved in an internal settlement. But in spite of the pressure the Front has evolved a sizeable army, and it will maintain the momentum of the armed struggle. The freedom fighters do not want to see the struggle and sacrifice of the last 15 years being hijacked by any leaders. **Does the Patriotic Front consider the internal settlement to be a positive step in any sense?**

No, it does not.

Fundamental changes at the structural level cannot be made while a war is going on. Already Bishop Muzorewa has called on black and white to fight the common enemy. He is beginning to sound like Ian Smith. The so-called settlement actually increases the possibility of a civil war in Zimbabwe.

What about the people of Zimbabwe? Are they behind the proposed settlement?

I do not know when and if the agreement will be submitted to a popular referendum. But first of all, we must look at the real situation in Zimbabwe. In spite of the image of black people talking to white racists and the image of some sort of harmony and reconciliation in Salisbury, for the vast majority of the Zimbabwean people, the intensity of repression by the white minority has been getting worse. There are now 1,500,000 people in "protected villages," which are really concentration camps. These people are being punished collectively and forced to do unpaid labor because they are considered criminals for having somehow cooperated with the guerilla forces.

The degree of repression in the rural areas is indicated by the fact that already this year, in just two months, something like 35,000 people have left Zimbabwe. They are fleeing from repression. In Botswana, Zambia, and Mozambique there are already about 200,000 refugees. Three hundred schools in Zimbabwe have been closed by Smith, who has now concluded that all African schools are subversive and schools should be closed for security reasons. If Smith were interested in a genuine abdication of power, it is inconceivable that such wholesale repression would continue and the hangings of young nationalists would still take place in Salisbury. There are perhaps as many as 100,000 prisoners being held. Many of them are women who would have been serving in the liberation army had they not been arrested. Women are playing an active role in the forces of ZANU and ZAPU; many are engaged in full combat roles.

What has been the position of the Patriotic Front regarding its role during an interim period?

Going back to your original question about concessions Smith has made, the people who have fought for Zimbabwe for 15 years feel that Smith would not have conceded at all had there been no armed struggle. Because the armed struggle was the most important element in bringing about a change in the situation, the Patriotic Front must be involved in any transfer of power in Zimbabwe.

The Front does not agree that the British Commissioner Lord Carver should have all the power during an interim period. There should be a governing council which would involve the Patriotic Front and other nationalist groups but not the tribal chiefs. The American delegation to the Malta talks in January seemed

to accept the notion that the dominant factor in any transitional period should be the Patriotic Front.

What in the Patriotic Front's evaluation do the British and Americans want to see happen in Zimbabwe?

The British and Americans are worried because the type of change in Zimbabwe will have important repercussions in South Africa. If the internal settlement succeeds, then South Africa will be in a far better position to consolidate her power over southern Africa. Remember also that 60 percent of the foreign capital of Zimbabwe is owned by South Africa.

South Africa will give arms to a Rhodesian army if the settlement works. Even now there are rumors that South Africa is training a black army for Zimbabwe in Namibia.

What about the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe?

The Patriotic Front is no tool of anybody, whether it is the Soviet Union or America. Nevertheless we realize that if the United States becomes identified positively with the internal settlement, then the Front will be identified as a pro-Soviet instrument in Africa. An ideological, cold war element will have been introduced into a situation that should be kept a Zimbabwean problem. The result will be that the super-power conflict will be decisively added to a struggle that is being waged not for other powers but for the people of Zimbabwe.

While the Soviet Union has consistently supported both materially and politically the aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe, the movements in Zimbabwe have always seen the struggle within the African context. First and foremost our battle is for and about Zimbabwe. Secondly, we see it within the general context of African liberation from racism and colonialism.

Would the Patriotic Front ask for the help of Cuban troops?

No, the Front is opposed to having foreign soldiers fight our struggle. As Joshua Nkomo has said, the business of liberating Zimbabwe is for the Zimbabweans. The Cubans, it should be remembered, have been supporting our struggle for 15 years.

What is the negotiating position of the Patriotic Front now?

The Front would continue to negotiate on the basis of the Anglo-American plan, but there are reservations on some of its provisions. The Front would demand assurances that political prisoners be released, that the security apparatus be dismantled, and that free political activity would be guaranteed.

What is the Front's long term strategy for liberation?

Within the nationalist movement there is a polarization between two strategies. The first sees one-man, one-vote as an automatic road to liberation. The other strategy accepts the need for an ideological mobilization of workers and peasants. This would lead to a reconstruction of Zimbabwe and a socialist economy, very much on the model of Mozambique, and would ensure that the resources of Zimbabwe are controlled by Zimbabweans and used for their benefit.

The vote alone will not bring about a total transfer of power from the white minority to the black majority. Therefore the people of Zimbabwe are facing perhaps the most dangerous situation conceivable in their entire history of liberation. The Patriotic Front thinks that the land tenure system has to be fundamentally altered because the entire institutionalization, the entire history of the country is based on racist and colonial suppositions.

These structures have been strengthened by the internal settlement, which has given them a legitimacy which they didn't have before. Because black nationalists have joined the white power structure, the situation appears to be non-racist. The internal settlement and the concession to majority rule is a very, very dangerous illusion.

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Miners get third contract

Nancy Stiefel/UNS

By David Moberg

COAL MINERS, ON STRIKE FOR over 100 days, have another contract before them for approval. It includes a few new "sweeteners," but there remain provisions that miners have so far found too sour to swallow. Numerous observers think that there's a good chance that they will vote down the pact.

The bargaining council only approved the contract on March 16 by a 22 to 17 vote, giving it a narrower margin of endorsement than the earlier contract that members rejected by more than two to one. The principal objections of those representatives voting "no" were reportedly the failure to restore free doctor visits and prescriptions under the health plan, the failure to equalize pensions among different categories of retired miners, and the new inclusion of an option for locals to negotiate incentive pay plans.

The Justice department assented to the United Mine Workers' request on March 17 to continue the temporary restraining order rather than issue a preliminary injunction under the Taft-Hartley Act, but the American Civil Liberties Union objected that the White House had not established sufficient grounds for invoking the Taft-Hartley injunction and that the temporary restraining order was "overly broad and abridges the rights of free speech," according to ACLU legal director Bruce Ennis.

Union leaders and industry representatives were treading softly in an attempt to sell the new contract without appearing to shove it down the throats of suspicious miners. District leaders explained the contract to local officials in separate meetings over the weekend rather than at one national gathering in Washington. Miners were all scheduled to vote on the same day, March 24. Both moves were intended to minimize the emergence of a negative response that would snowball, as leaders think happened with the contract that was rejected earlier.

New provisions.

Here are the main changes in the new tentative agreement from the last offer that was turned down:

- Active miners would pay \$7.50 per visit for the first 20 visits per year to a doctor and \$5.00 per prescription for the first ten medications, for a maximum of \$200 out-of-pocket expense each year. Under the 1974 contract miners paid nothing. Under the rejected contract they would have paid up to \$700, including hospital payments, which no longer require "co-payments" or deductibles. Retired miners would pay \$5 per doctor visit, with a maximum payment of \$150 a year.

- Instead of having an all-industry health plan, the pride of the UMW since 1946, each company will contract with private insurers, such as Blue Cross. Insurance companies will have to meet the contractually negotiated standards and the health benefits will be guaranteed—as they have not been under the 1974 contract.

Sources close to the industry indicate that the Bituminous Coal Operators Association fought for this so that companies with stable labor relations and little time lost would not have to pay out disproportionately through per-ton royalties for benefits that went to workers in other companies that are plagued by absenteeism and wildcat strikes. They hoped that such private insurance would help to control costs. Also, it was believed that such an insurance plan could build company bridges to workers, since under the present plan miners see the UMW and not the coal operators as the source of their health benefits.

- Miners who retired before Jan. 1, 1976, would immediately receive pension benefits of \$274 per month, instead of gradually increasing to that level. Now about three-fourths of these 80,000 retirees receive black-lung benefits of \$225 per month and the other quarter re-



Although the new contract contains a few better provisions it still falls far short of what the miners have been holding out for in the way of health and pension benefits.

ceive \$250. Miners who have retired since Jan. 1, 1976, receive an average of \$425 a month, and equalization of pensions among all retired miners had been a major demand at the last UMW convention.

- Provisions in the rejected contract for increasing penalties against absenteeism and for instituting heavy sanctions against leaders of wildcat strikes were dropped. However, an arbitrator's ruling (ARB 108) from last year that imposed severe restrictions on miners striking, picketing or even distributing information still will be in force, even though it was not included in the contract. If that ruling is implemented in the future, the UMW will almost certainly challenge it in court. However, the new contract eli-

minates some of the most hated provisions of the rejected agreement, even though it does not include a local right-to-strike clause, which was favored unanimously by the UMW convention.

- One new provision, almost certain to be controversial, is the option for local unions to negotiate incentive payment plans. Although stated in this fashion it would seem to satisfy militant locals that object to incentive pay as a threat to safety in the mines, there would certainly be some locals that would approve incentive pay and the principle would be established in the industry. "If they override safety [in the contract], an Ohio local UMW president, Roy Howard, said, "then I'm dead set against it."

- The wage increases would amount to \$1 the first year and 70 cents an hour each of the next two years of the contract, automatically including the cost of living adjustment. In the earlier contracts, in the second and third years, miners would have been guaranteed 40 cents an hour and up to 30 cents an hour additional in COLA.

- Instead of having a week off at Christmas, miners would have two additional "floating days" in the new tentative contract, for a total of four per year. Miners also have five "personal leave" days, which remain unchanged.

If enough miners decide they've been on strike as long as they can take it, the

Continued on page 20.

America's most dangerous job

By Steven Schneider

WHEN THE NATION'S COAL miners voted down the latest contract proposal, one of their primary concerns—more than salaries—was safety. Coal mining is still America's most hazardous occupation. Roof falls, mine gas ignitions and the dismembering crush against rock of an errant machine remain an integral part of the miners' job.

Since 1970 more than 1,000 coal miners have died of work-related causes and another 125,000 have been injured. Each year a working miner faces a one-in-eight chance of suffering an injury.

The fatality rate of American miners is still roughly seven times the average for workers in all American industries. And the amount of time miners lose as a result of injuries is nearly ten times the national average.

Despite this record, however, the proposed contract would have weakened the safety protections the miners currently have—mainly by weakening the miners' right to strike. According to the proposed contract, disagreements over safety would have to go through the grievance procedure.

Thus if miners were to go out on strike in a safety dispute and an arbitrator subsequently ruled against them, "They would be subjected to discipline," says Tom Bethell, former director of the United Mine Workers' research department and a leader in the Miners for Democracy movement. "So it compromises a right miners have had since 1947."

The contract the miners rejected also would have made it easier for companies to get rid of troublesome safety commit-

teemen, would have made it more difficult for the union to act quickly to correct safety dangers and would have narrowed the circumstances under which a miner may refuse to work because of poor safety conditions.

Nor has federal law succeeded in insuring miner safety. Congress passed the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act in 1969 and Nixon signed it into law only after miners threatened a nationwide strike. But enforcement of that act has been poor, largely because the Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration that was created to administer it has been dominated by political appointees and former industry personnel.

Indeed, as Common Cause charged in a recent study, "Three assistant administrators in the Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration came from copper or coal mining companies." One of these three has now become a vice-president for Pittston Coal and the top safety lawyer in the agency recently resigned to accept a position with the American Mining Congress, an industry organization.

The Carter transition team criticized the assistant secretary for energy and minerals who supervised mine safety enforcement in the Nixon-Ford administrations, declaring that, "In the past four years, the assistant secretary has not supported the [MESA] program and has delayed or obstructed efforts to improve mine safety programs."

But the Carter administration has done little to change the situation. Only recently did it begin actively considering people for appointments in the mine safety program, and thus high-level positions are still in the hands of "acting" personnel.

The UMW argues that slower, more careful work habits are required to protect workers' health and safety. But the

mine owners are determined to boost worker productivity, which has fallen from 14 tons per worker day in 1965 to 8.5 tons in 1976, according to the General Accounting Office. Consequently, the mine owners have called for "production incentive plans," which union officials believe would create "extremely dangerous" mine safety conditions.

There is a greater emphasis on safety training in other countries, like Great Britain. "There it's a matter of months rather than hours, as it is here," says L. Thomas Galloway, an attorney with the Center for Law and Social Policy who specializes in coal mine health and safety. In fact, new coal miners in the U.S. frequently have received no formal safety training whatsoever.

Beginning March 9, however, federal legislation will require a minimum of 40 hours training for all new miners. "It's a first faltering step," says Galloway. "And we're still far behind West European nations."

Yet, even with better federal legislation, Galloway insists that "federal inspection people can never substitute for the right of miners to withdraw" from a situation they believe is unsafe. He points out that federal inspectors are in the mines only 3 percent of the time. "Workers must have the right to withdraw from the mines," he says. "And they must be protected from employer reprisals once they withdraw."

But so far the mine owners have been unwilling to agree with that, insisting on penalties in the event of "unwarranted" strikes.

(© 1978 Pacific News Service)

Steven Schneider monitors energy policy for the Third Century America Project and Pacific News Service.

IN THE NATION

POLITICS

Environmentalists back labor

By David Moberg

AS CONSIDERATION OF LABOR law reform by the Senate draws near, organized labor is picking up some new support from an influential, unexpected quarter—environmentalist and anti-nuclear groups.

Although still a very limited response, the actions are both a sign of and a contribution to a growing accommodation between labor unions and environmentalists, who have often been at odds.

Environmentalists for Full Employment has catalyzed the support. On Oct. 2, prominent environmentalists signed a joint letter sent to members of Congress endorsing labor law reform on the grounds that "this legislation will contribute to the attainment of national environmental objectives.... Environmentalists join with unions in asserting that the drive to clean up the total environment and protect public health includes making the workplace environment healthy and safe."

Over 50 environmentalists are expected to sign a similar letter soon to be sent to all senators. The signers include leaders of major groups that are not yet ready to take positions beyond their narrowly defined goals of guarding wilderness or setting clear air and water standards.

The premier direct action anti-nuclear group, the Clamshell Alliance, traces its history of opposition to nuclear plants, such as Seabrook, back to UAW activities in Michigan in the 1950s. Like other environmentalist groups, the Clamshell Alliance has been actively courting labor union support in fights on environmental quality and occupational health and safety. As a result, "supporting the labor reform bill was sort of a natural thing to do," "Clam" Robin Read says.

The AFL-CIO labor law reform task force also reports support for the legislation from the SEA (Safe Energy Alterna-

tive) Alliance in the mid-Atlantic states and the Potomac Alliance in the area around the nation's capital. Both are anti-nuclear groups.

Although the Sierra Club has not endorsed the labor law reform, which would greatly strengthen workers' ability to organize, it has helped by asking interested members to write to their senators.

Similar support has come from the Urban Environment Conference, Central Massachusetts Citizens Against Nuclear Power, local chapters and leaders of Friends of the Earth, and the Pennsylvania Alliance for Jobs and Energy. Some environmentally-oriented publications, such as *Mother Earth News*, are printing supportive information about the law.

Doris Hardesty, who works with the AFL-CIO task force, says that the environmentalist support has made a difference with a few members of Congress last fall. The endorsements, letters to hometown papers from environmentalists, the presence of environmentalist Barry Commoner on the board of the pro-labor law reform coalition, Americans for Justice on the Job, and other activities "makes it appear—makes it real—that there's a broader support" for the law beyond organized labor, Hardesty said.

On both sides of the sometimes divide between the two groups observers agree that above all two changes have made the difference: growing awareness of common interests of labor and environmentalists on many issues and recognition that the same corporate and right-wing forces are attacking both groups as they try to organize.

"I think several things have sparked it," Hardesty says. "Some of our unions are working closely with environmentalists on toxic substances and other chemical problems—unions such as the United Steel Workers, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing



The Clamshell Alliance, which achieved prominence last year for its nonviolent militant tactics, traces its history back to UAW activists in the '50s, so supporting labor reform comes naturally.

Workers, with brown lung disease. There's a developing relationship, and this Urban Environment Conference has brought people together. There's a strong perception that if you have a union, as a worker you have more power to speak up on violations of Occupational Safety and Health Act standards or other dangers. It goes even further. When you work out differences and see that workers are the ones most interested in occupational health and environmentalists need to be concerned about jobs, it opens up a whole new range of possibilities.

"Also, we all have a common enemy. The real conservatives are against environmental reforms, labor, civil rights, women. It's the corporate power that's coming down on all of us behind progres-

sive causes."

The fledgling alliance is a sign of hope and progress. "I'm not sure that it could have happened a couple of years ago," Richard Grossman, co-director of Environmentalists for Full Employment, says. "There's a growing awareness that environmentalists have to reach out. It's just logical to support people fighting against producers who don't usually accede to environmental controls. There's also a lot of corporate, right-wing agitation. The same people opposing environmental regulations and occupational health are fighting the labor law."

"We don't expect anything back in a deal, but it's a mutual beneficial process. I'm satisfied with the beginning of increasing communication."

CIVIL LIBERTIES

University of Chicago agrees to affirmative action

By John Fleming

AFTER WEEKS OF INTENSE negotiations, the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare this month forced the University of Chicago to agree on sweeping changes in its employment policies. In return, the school gained a federal contract.

The negotiations started when HEW held up a \$1.7 million contract between the University's physics laboratory, the Enrico Fermi Institute and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration because the school did not have an affirmative action plan for the recruitment, hiring and promotion of women and members of minority groups. Under federal executive order anyone getting a federal contract of a million dollars or more is subject to a special review to make sure its employment practices meet proper antidiscrimination and affirmative action standards.

Under the agreement the university set goals for the recruitment and hiring of women and minorities in faculty and non-faculty positions. It also promised to do a detailed study of employee salaries by race and sex and prepare a program to give raises and back pay for a two-year period to women and minority employees damaged by discrimination. And to satisfy a complaint filed with HEW by a group of women law students, the university pledged a "good faith" effort to add two women professors to the white,

male law school faculty by 1981.

The agreement is not final. It must be reviewed by HEW headquarters in Washington. And the university must allow HEW complete access to its recruitment and employment records "to insure that it lives up to its promises," says Charles Duffy, chief of HEW's midwest Office for Civil Rights. If HEW is not satisfied with the university's compliance, Duffy says, it may "pull the contract again."

The university faculty must also approve—and carry out—the agreement. But as members of a self-declared "elitist" institution—it's known as the "Harvard of the Midwest"—many university professors may not accept government regulation of their recruitment and hiring policies without a fight.

"We've talked very seriously about going to court and calling a halt to this trend," says Allison Dunham, a law professor. "This university would come very close to going out of business if we allow any interference in the traditional systems used in hiring faculty."

Dunham objects to HEW's insistence on record-keeping and he stands behind the university's right to be selective in recruiting faculty. "We admit that this is an elitist institution," he says. "We hire when we have a need and when the right person is available. I believe that HEW has got itself in such a bind over this that we'll never get out of it—unless HEW finally accepts the premise that we'll proceed with affirmative action in good faith. And to hell with the statistics."

On the other hand, many faculty members at the school think government pressure is the only effective tool available to make the university "clean up its act," according to Peter Novick, an associate professor of history. "Affirmative action is a matter of the highest principle to a lot of people around here," he says. "And the university has stalled around on this forever. It has a team of lawyers that keeps pushing off these inevitable changes and hoping they'll go away."

The federal government has rarely enforced its affirmative action regulations and the effectiveness of the executive order has been compromised in recent years by bureaucratic confusion. The Labor department, through its Office of Federal Contract Compliance, is supposed to enforce the order but it has delegated that responsibility to 18 other agencies composed of 13 more sub-agencies with over 200 field offices—and there are as many different enforcement procedures as there are agencies.

The enforcement of affirmative action has also been stalled for political reasons. The administrations of Presidents Nixon and Ford were not strongly committed to it and for years the government allowed companies and institutions with federal contracts to pay only lip service to affirmative action.

The Carter administration, however, is committed to a new "get tough" anti-discrimination policy that went into effect last fall. Since November, HEW has reviewed at least 20 universities. The re-

views rely on statistical analysis to spot and correct "patterns and practices" of discrimination against whole classes of employees, such as women and blacks. In the past the government only looked for discrimination against specific individuals.

The University of Chicago review attracted national attention. HEW Secretary Joseph Califano flew into Chicago for a day; he also received regular memos on the progress of the meetings. "Sure, I got calls from Washington," says Duffy. "They couldn't believe this was going on so long. 'My God,' they'd say, 'why don't you pick on Western Michigan or some school like that?'"

Duffy was clearly under pressure but he was also in a feisty mood during the negotiations, remarking at one point he didn't mind being treated as "just another dumb government clerk" by the university's lawyers. "The university has a lot of prestige and clout," Duffy says, "but here they've got to deal with me."

The university is also aware of the influence its national standing might have in reaching some final agreement with HEW. "It's possible our trustees have enough clout so that we could run over HEW and go straight to the White House," says Dunham, who also suggests that Illinois Sen. Charles Percy, a university alumnus and trustee, could be a helpful ally. "But we haven't tried our political power recently," Dunham says. "Maybe we don't have any."

John Fleming is a writer in Chicago.

PUERTO RICO

Fishermen take on the Navy

By Ronnie Lovler

VIEQUES, PUERTO RICO

THIS SANDY LITTLE ISLAND OF beautiful beaches and clear blue water is hardly the sort of place where you would expect a small group of fishermen to take on the might of the U.S. Navy.

Still, not too long ago, a flotilla of 30 fishing boats kept the U.S. Marines from landing on this tiny island, less than 50 square miles large, on the opening day of naval exercises scheduled here by North Atlantic Treaty Organizations (NATO) countries.

The fishermen were protesting the target practices and other naval activities held over the years, which they say have consistently disrupted the fabric of life on this island-municipality, a few miles off the coast of eastern Puerto Rico.

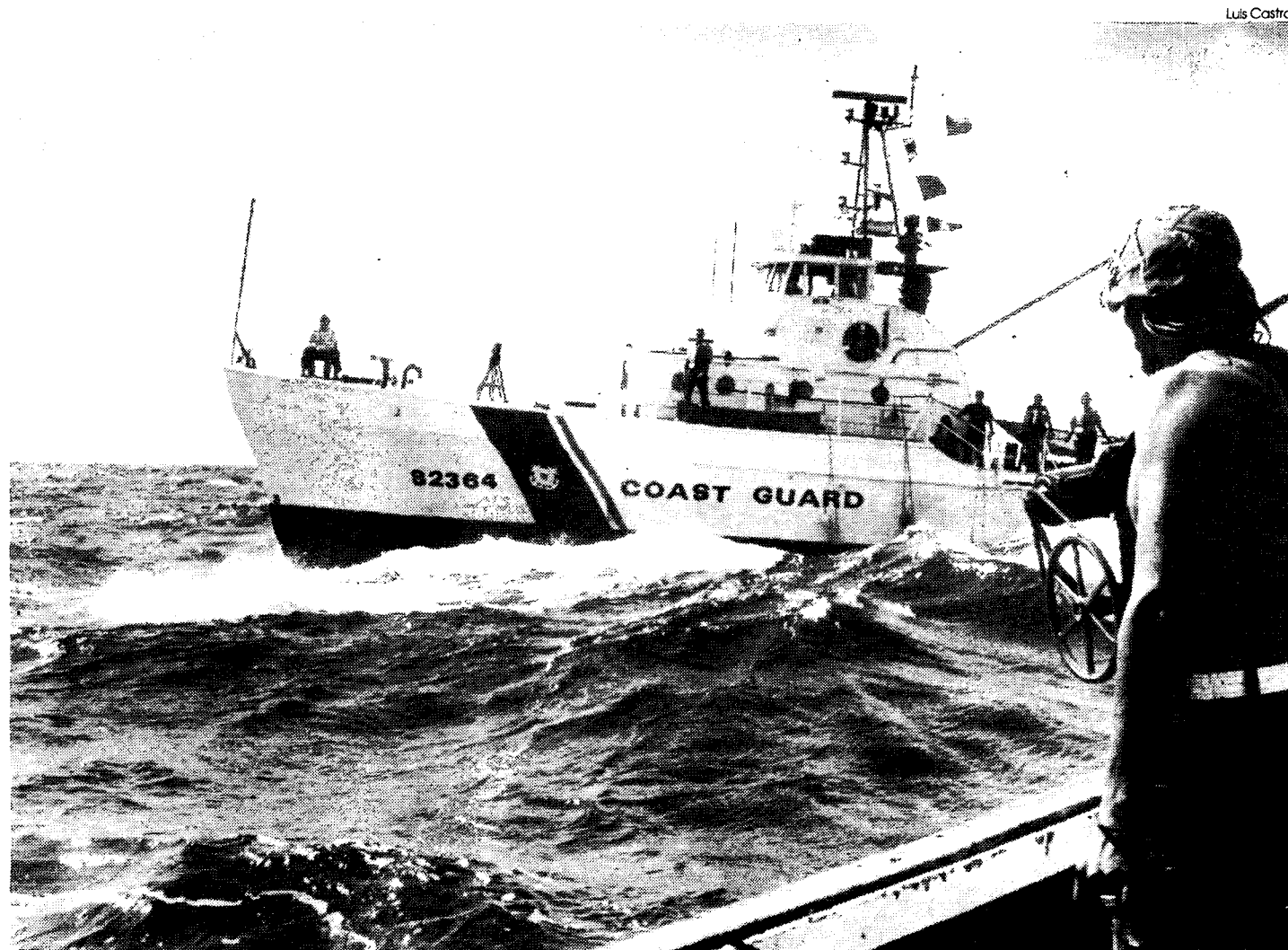
The fish-in lasted only a few hours but it was a gesture that dramatized the feelings of all the Viequeses—they wanted the Navy, which currently occupies 75 percent of Vieques, off their island.

The unusual protest was precipitated by a Navy mandate limiting the fishermen to certain waters during NATO's Operation Springboard maneuvers. Until a few years ago the Navy had conducted its annual maneuvers, as well as constant ship-to-shore target practice, off the coast of the sister island-municipality of Culebra, a few miles east.

Years of protest in Culebra and months of talks by the Puerto Rican government forced the Navy to close up shop in Culebra. A condition of that accord was that the Puerto Rican government would help the Navy find an alternate target practice site. Although several locations have been found, including the uninhabited, British-owned Dog Island in the Caribbean, the Navy has dragged its heels, while at the same time beefing up its Vieques operation.

The Viequeses were concerned that military operations on their island might leave them with a legacy like that of Culebra, where environmental protection authorities have detected an unusual environmental hazard—hundreds of unexploded live mines both on the land and in coastal waters.

The fish-in was a staged event. The Vieques Fishermen's Association had invited journalists, religious leaders, lawyers and political figures to witness the occurrences. The fishermen and their friends gathered in the early morning hours near



Years of protest on the island of Culebra and pressure from the Puerto Rican government forced the Navy to give up operations there, but they merely shifted them to Vieques. The Viequeses would have none of it.

the moorings where the fishing boats were kept. At about 7:00 a.m. the fishing vessels, with three or four persons on board, moved out to take on the U.S. Navy.

They positioned themselves in the restricted waters between six NATO ships carrying Marines and amphibious equipment and the shore.

Four times the NATO ships tried to cut through the line formed by the fishing boats but four times the people aboard the small motor boats kept the ships from going through.

During the confrontations, a 35-foot lobster boat, the fishermen's pride and joy, was damaged in what the Navy said was an accident. A Coast Guard cutter collided with the fishing boat in heavy seas. However, the fishermen said that the lobster boat was rammed by the cutter three times.

Still, by the day's end, the fishermen and the Viequeses felt that victory was theirs. "We beat the hell out of them today," said Carlos Zenon, captain of the

damaged lobster boat and a former president of the Fishermen's Association.

The victory was theirs, for the time being, not only because they succeeded in temporarily halting the NATO maneuvers but because they were able to set in motion a chain of events geared at getting the Navy out of Vieques once and for all.

The latest move, in a series of escalating initiatives is a decision by Gov. Carlos Romero Barcelo to seek a U.S. District Court injunction to permanently halt all naval operations on Vieques. The injunction includes a 53-page document that alleges the island has been damaged by "bombings, missile firing, demolition operations, mortar firing and other military activities." These activities are said to be hampering economic development, endangering residents and causing damage to marine life and natural resources.

The court ruling is still pending.

It takes an issue like Vieques to unite the politically divided people of Puerto

Rico. They are often at odds with each other as to the best solution for their present status as a colony—statehood, independence or autonomy.

The status preferences usually translate into conflicting political positions on current issues. However, in the Vieques situation all shades of the political spectrum in Puerto Rico appear to be united in their wish to have the Navy leave the island.

That is perhaps the fishermen's greatest victory.

Ronnie Lovler is a free-lance journalist and former reporter for the San Juan Star.

As IN THESE TIMES went to press, President Carter, under pressure from Gov. Carlos Romero Barcelo of Puerto Rico, cancelled the 30,000 men military exercises that had been set for May 5 on the island of Vieques.

Puerto Rico is still seeking a court injunction prohibiting all military maneuvers in Vieques.

Eurocommunism & The State

IN THESE TIMES Chicago Associates will sponsor a lecture-discussion class based on "Eurocommunism and the State" by Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain. The class will examine the policies and implications of Eurocommunism as they pertain to developed capitalist countries, especially the United States.

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Copies of the studies are available from the Transnational Institute, 1901 Q St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009.

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J. P. STEVENS' DAY WILL COME

Organizing Stevens in Alabama requires a spirit that just may transform the union

By Emma Lee

MONTGOMERY, ALA.

WHEN HENRY MANN SITS at the lunch counter at the Montgomery Howard Johnson's motel, where he's been living for a year and a half, and talks about his work, his gentle Alabama drawl is often barely audible. After ten years of union organizing in the Deep South, his hushed delivery is a well-practiced art.

"I believe there's only one way to organize and that's militancy," says Mann. "You show me a worker who's willing to stand up to his supervisor and I'll show you a strong union member and a militant local union. You show me a union that won't strike, and I'll show you a weak union."

Mann has been a union organizer since 1967, nine of those years on the staff of the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA). In June 1976 the TWUA was forced by declining membership to merge with the older, larger and better established Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to form the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), and Mann went to work on ACTWU's drive to organize J.P. Stevens & Co. Organizing activity is now underway in virtually all of Stevens' 85 plants, which with a few exceptions are located in the South; the union has already succeeded in signing up majorities in 18 plants.

Henry Mann's rhetoric, and the manner in which he has gone about organizing the 450 workers at Stevens' West Boylston plant in Montgomery, indicate the potentially progressive impact of the Stevens campaign on the labor movement.

The successful resolution of the Stevens drive may result in a massive influx into the union of mostly young, militant workers whose experience with unionism has been characterized from the outset by bitter struggle against "the bosses." In Montgomery, at least, the workers subscribe to the rhetoric of social justice and struggle that the union must employ to win the Stevens campaign; they may not forget it once they join the union.

A crusade for social justice.

Mann has conducted more than a simple organizing drive in Montgomery. It has been a crusade, a campaign for social justice. The workers' fight to win basic rights in the mill has led to profound changes in the participants.

In short, the social values and regulations that have dominated the South for generations are being undermined by the West Boylston workers. Racial and sexual divisions within the workforce are being broken down, and a sense of the common struggle of all "working people" has begun to develop. Most important, the workers now believe that they have the ability and power to control their lives, both in and out of the workplace. Despite their involvement in what promises to be a lengthy, complicated battle for their bargaining rights, their spirit and determination remain high.

Willie Woods, an electrician for 13 years in the West Boylston mill, explained the changes the workers have undergone in this way: "I would think that they know that as a team they have more power than they knew about, or they was told about way before. They're using their

power more today. As a whole, as a working whole, well, we can get a lot more done than if we was by ourselves."

Marva Watkins, a young black woman who was one of the first workers fired for union activity in Montgomery, adds: "The union changes everything. It brings people closer together."

Mann says that when he first arrived in Montgomery in July 1976 and set up camp in the Howard Johnson's across town from the mill, the workers were weak and inert. "When I first got here," he recalls, "I never seen such a beaten bunch of people in my life. They didn't have no hope, no future, no nothing. They knew the company was doin' them wrong, but they didn't know what to do."

Conditions at West Boylston were among the worst of any plant in the Stevens chain. Employees got only four of the six paid holidays accorded to most other Stevens workers. There was no parking lot and no lunchroom; the workers tell of eating lunch amidst the cotton dust and lint of the mill. There were no medical facilities in the plant to speak of, no health insurance or pension plan. Some 60 percent of the workers were black but there were no black supervisors; 70 percent were women but there were no women supervisors. They received one week paid vacation, regardless of seniority.

Not surprisingly, the response to Mann's initial leafletting of the plant was strong. Seventy workers signed the 3-by-5-inch blue union authorization cards immediately, and by early September 1976 a majority had indicated their desire to have ACTWU as their bargaining representative. On Sept. 10 the union filed with the NLRB to be declared bargaining representative.

Stevens immediately claimed it had a "good faith" doubt that the union actually had won majority support. The company began a campaign of harassment. According to a complaint issued in May 1977 on behalf of the Montgomery workers by the New Orleans regional office of the NLRB—this complaint is currently being litigated before an administrative law judge in Montgomery—the first illegal firing of a pro-union worker took place on Aug. 19, 1976. By October the wave of firings and harassments was in full swing. Even in recent months, although the NLRB hearing has been in session on and off since last August, the company continues to fire and harass the workers.

The NLRB has already alleged labor law violations in the case of 19 fired workers, and cited scores of other cases of harassment and discriminatory treatment.

Avoiding an election.

At this point in the Stevens campaign it is the union's strategy to avoid risking representation elections, and to rely instead on legal action to advance the organizing. A lost election could have disastrous effects on the campaign. In Wallace, N.C., and Statesboro, Ga., the company successfully frightened the workers into voting down the union even though a majority had signed cards. It is unlikely that this would happen in Montgomery, but ACTWU is sticking to its tactic of amassing enough labor law violations in each organizing campaign to persuade the courts to declare it legal bargaining agent without an election.

But if the strategic initiative now lies



in the hands of the ACTWU legal department, who along with the government attorneys are arguing the workers' case in Montgomery, Mann has sought to prevent the workers from being forced to the sidelines, to watch passively as others act in their behalf. Organizing activity has proceeded alongside legal activity, and the workers continue to meet weekly, as they have for more than a year. Average attendance runs about 60 or 70, although important meetings have drawn more than twice that number.

Mann's organizing tactic has been to assist the workers in creating a community of solidarity and struggle. Organizing a union is seen not only as an attempt to win higher wages and better working conditions, but as a collective effort to win some measure of control over the workers' environment.

The workers have thus organized a political action committee to register new voters. They have organized a food stamp committee to ensure that their members are receiving the government assistance to which they are entitled. They are planning to put out a newsletter, and have organized a group that sings union songs. They signed up 85 workers to make the six-hour trip to Spartanburg, S.C., on

November 20, for a giant rally of Stevens workers from throughout the South. And with the help of an organizer for the Carolina Brown Lung Association they are working on setting up a brown lung clinic.

"You're more than an organizer," Mann says of his own task. "You don't teach them the union can do wonders. You teach these people that coming together they can do wonders."

Embryonic class solidarity.

What has emerged from the careful building of this community of struggle is an unmistakable, if embryonic, sense of class solidarity. In the Deep South that means above all overcoming the racial tensions that have historically divided white and black members of the working class.

Mann says that at one of the first meetings he held with the workers in Montgomery he warned that the company would quickly resort to racism to thwart the unionization drive. Stevens has often sought to label the union a "nigger union" in order to frighten away white workers.

"We're down here to organize employees and workers," Mann recalls telling the workers at a meeting. "The company

Continued on page 20.



At this point in the Stevens campaign, it is the union's strategy to avoid risking a representation election, where the cards would be stacked in the company's favor, in favor of a strategy of legal action and public exposure. The confrontation at the stock holder's meeting is one example of the latter strategy.

Stevens shifts stockholder meeting but workers won't be shut out

By Steve Hoffius

GREENVILLE, S. C.

AS CARS TURNED INTO THE driveway of Textile Hall here March 7 for the J.P. Stevens Co. annual meeting they were met by two lines of Stevens workers.

On one side about 15 workers—men and women, about half black and half white—held hand-painted signs. The signs called out support for the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers union and criticized Stevens, the world's second largest textile firm, for its numerous violations of Occupational Safety and Health regulations and of Fair Labor practices.

On the other side stood about 30 women all wearing sweatshirts reading, "Stand up for Stevens." They smiled and waved their signs, some professionally made, to the stockholders who drove past. "We Like Our Jobs," said one woman's sign. Another held one that proclaimed, "Stevens Fair to Blacks," but everyone across the street jeered at that one. "How would you know?" someone shouted. The sweatshirt boosters were all white. An erect middle-aged man in a sport coat rushed over and encouraged the placard-bearer to put it down.

Soon the union supporters opposite the sweatshirt brigade began to drift away, toward the Textile Hall. They were definitely not satisfied, and they were not content to stand outside in the chilly March wind, waving signs at passing cars. They entered the meeting, proxy statements in hand, to



Pro-Stevens workers demonstrate wearing "Stand up for Stevens" T-shirts.

confront—most for the first time—the company directors.

Inside the hall about 800 people gathered, nearly a third of them union members and supporters. Almost all the men—supporters and critics of the company alike—wore somber sportcoats and ties. The women wore colorful dresses or stylish pantsuits. The crowd could have been confused for a church group, if not for the many pins announcing, "Cotton dust kills." And few church groups are as integrated as the union backers.

Change in meeting place.

Less than two weeks before, officials of the beleaguered textile giant had an-

nounced that for the first time in history the annual meeting would be held in the South, where almost all their plants are located. They had decided, rather hurriedly, that the Board of Directors and stockholders should see a textile mill from the inside, and the meeting place was shifted from New York to Greenville.

Union members and supporters had to shift their plans as well, plans that had called for a repeat of last year's much-publicized demonstrations. Outside the meeting last year Coretta Scott King led a sizeable crowd of marchers, and inside, angry charges were exchanged and a surprisingly large vote supported resolutions critical of the company's practices. National media recorded it all.

Despite the sudden move south, hundreds of people gathered in Greenville to voice their complaints with the company. They included men and women from J.P. Stevens plants around the South, workers who had recently retired or had been fired for union activities, and brown lung victims.

The night before, at a Greenville motel, they held a Rally for Human Rights, presenting a detailed report of Stevens law violations and harassment of workers sympathetic to the union.

At the annual meeting the workers and their supporters approached the microphones one by one to repeat their statements of the night before, this time directly to their bosses. They announced, often slowly and haltingly, their names and hometowns. They came from Montgomery, Ala., from Atlanta and Statesboro, Ga., from Rock Hill and Greenville, S.C., from Roanoke Rapids and Aberdeen, N.C. They stood patiently in line for Board Chairman James Finley to recognize them, and they tried to suggest to the Board something of their lives.

One white man with long black hair combed back on his head explained, "Mr. Finley, I'm one of the highest paid at the plant where I work, I've worked there 18

years and I only make \$4.44 an hour. Others make even less. Now, I'm as good at my job as you are at yours, and I'd like a little more money." Finley, who draws an annual salary and bonuses of more than \$350,000 went on to the next question.

A tall black man from Montgomery, Ala., announced, "I've been discriminated against in so many ways. Most of all, I was fired a while back for my union activities. Mr. Finley, if you are to turn over a new leaf, will you please put us back in our jobs? Today?"

No particular rules.

From his raised podium Finley rotated his glance around the room, calling on various speakers, leaving them when he felt they had said enough, cutting and turning on microphones as he chose.

"Shareholder meetings," he explained, "are not run by any particular set of rules, but in a fair and impartial way." Which meant that when an embarrassing question arose, he simply said, "The company would not be benefited by a discussion of that," and called on someone else.

For a while the workers seemed almost shy when they found themselves facing the company chief executive. "Mr. Finley, we have a cement floor in Montgomery," said one thin, well-dressed black worker. He addressed the director slowly, as if the wrong word might get him evicted. "Now that's fine for me and the other young workers. But I'm getting older, not younger. It's much harder on us than a wooden floor would be." Finley brushed him aside and suggested that he talk with his plant supervisor. The man agreed. "Thank you, Mr. Finley," he said. "I will request to talk with my supervisor."

That diffidence didn't last long. Finley refused to respond to many questions, hurrying people along if bored by their statements. Repeatedly, Finley cried out, "You want an election, let's have an elec-

IN THE WORLD

Photos/Rosette Coryell

FRANCE

Communists score pyrrhic victory in French vote

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

GEORGE MARCHAIS SCORED a pyrrhic victory over Francois Mitterand in the first round of the two-round French parliamentary elections on March 12. By its aggressive campaign against its left-wing partners, Marchais' Communist party (PCF) succeeded in preventing the Socialist party (PS) from gaining a stature that would have dwarfed the PCF. In the process, it risked taking the blame for turning the left's historic opportunity for victory into another defeat.

The outcome of the first round was a bitter surprise to the Socialists, who won only 22.5 percent of the total national vote, compared to the 26 percent to 28 percent indicated by various polls. The PS neither attained the seven million votes predicted by Mitterand nor came out as "France's top party," as he claimed a touch too hastily while the ballots were still being counted. That distinction went to the most right-wing of the four major parties, Jacques Chirac's Gaullist *Rassemblement pour la Republique* (RPR), with 22.6 percent.

The PCF's own 20.5 percent was less than the 21.5 percent scored by the Union for French Democracy (UDF), hastily pulled together by three center-right parties supporting President Valery Giscard d'Estaing towards the end of the campaign. In short, the two big parties on the right did better than the two big ones on the left. Counting the 2.1 percent of its third partner, the Left Radical Movement (MRG), the Union of the Left got a total

and quickly concluded an agreement for the March 19 second round.

The agreement to pick up the common program where it had been dropped last September fell far short of what the PCF had been claiming was indispensable. It left completely up in the air the key issue of which affiliates were to be included in nationalization of major industry. With the PS cut down to size, Marchais could afford to accept Mitterand's oft-denounced "artistic fuzziness," confident that if the left miraculously won on March 19, the PCF was in a relatively strong bargaining position. Marchais' immediate political task was to avoid blame for a probable left-wing defeat.

The brewing bitterness against the PCF's divisive campaign strategy could be glimpsed in a front-page comment by *Le Monde's* editor-in-chief Jacques Fauvet, a Mitterand supporter, who elegantly hinted that he might be coming around to the "hand of Moscow" hypothesis to explain a Communist electoral strategy "that accepted the risk of defeat." Only time would tell to what extent the PCF was motivated by a desire not to "destabilize" western Europe and strengthen opposition to detente by taking part in the French government, Fauvet suggested.

Party system encourages strife.

However, assuming it was motivated by the simplest electoral self-interest, the PCF was led to campaign against the Socialists through the first round by the very rules of the electoral game laid down by De Gaulle's fifth republic constitution, which abolished proportional representation of parties in the national assembly and substituted the current two-round



Above: Communist candidate Jean Ellenstein greets the voters in Paris campaign. Left: A Hitler moustache is drawn on Gaullist party candidate on poster in Paris.

big parties on the left and two big parties on the right, alternately quarrelsome and united, is shaped by the country's political mechanisms. It is a mystification to try to read this pattern as a reflection of public opinion. It reflects the desires and aspirations of the population only in a distant and distorted way, like most such formal political mechanisms.

With no hope of picking up votes in the center, the PCF fought to preserve its traditional working class constituency from possible PS inroads by a vigorous "poor people's" campaign. The socialists have argued plausibly that only a left heavily weighted in their favor could overcome "the red scare" enough to win the runoff. But the PCF could hardly be expected to play dead for the sake of Mitterand's career.

Left abstention?

How does the PCF campaign, aggressive in tone but essentially defensive, account for the socialists' poor showing? Since the PCF itself fell back slightly from its 1973 score, while the PS advanced (although less than expected), potential socialist votes seem to have strayed elsewhere than into the Communist totals.

The most ready hypothesis was that middle-of-the-road voters were scared away from the PS by turbulence on the left that suggests incapacity to govern. But what sort of socialism would such people have supported? If the PS lost these votes, that may just mean a serious misunderstanding has been avoided.

Another possibility is that potential left-wing voters account for many of the 16.6 percent who abstained. The "red scare" may have brought out nearly the full right-wing vote. But a lot of people on the left, especially of libertarian bent, suspicious of electoral politics to begin with, were turned off by the campaign. It was perhaps not so much the quarrel on the left that alienated people as its staged quality. Marchais' attacks on the Socialists seemed contrived. But they struck home. That is how they managed to hurt both the PS and the PCF.

The Communist campaign played heavily on traditional French working class fears of a "socialist sell-out." Probably with an eye on the surprisingly good showing in last year's municipal elections by Trotskyist candidates in a number of working class districts, Marchais unabashedly went after the "Gauchiste" vote with the most resolutely working-class line the PCF has espoused for some

time. Marchais warned that Mitterand was ready to sell out the workers, and urged a big PCF vote to prevent this. Along came Trotskyist Arlette Laguiller, who warned that both Mitterand and Marchais would sell out the workers, and urged a big vote for Lutte Ouvriere.

Some free thinkers surely decided they were both right, and didn't vote at all. The PCF may have done better at inspiring distrust of the Socialists than at inspiring confidence in itself. This is indicated by returns from the industrial suburbs of Paris, the traditional "red belt." In a large number of its main strongholds, such as Saint-Denis, Clichy, Nanterre, Issy, Saint-Ouen, Bagnolet, Bobigny, Montreuil, Ivry and Choisy-le-Roi, the PCF scored less than it had in 1973.

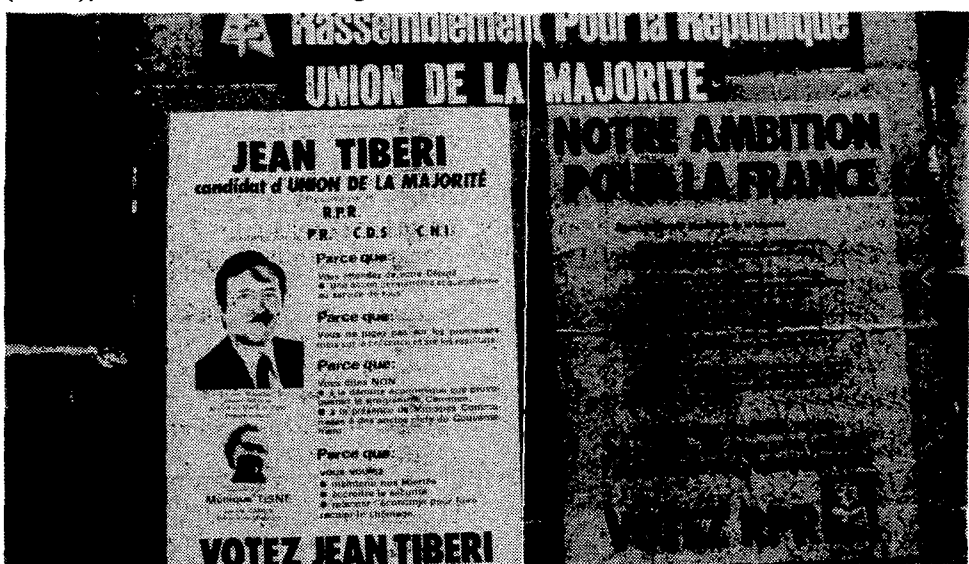
This hypothesis offered a faint hope that the left, re-united at the last moment, might yet manage to squeak through in the runoff by luring back working class voters who sat out the first round. It was a slim hope that at best could provide only a slim victory.

Mitterand a loser.

The big loser in the first round was Francois Mitterand. His strategy was to rise above specific issues, lifted by "the biggest party in France" and his own image of serene statesmanship, able to weather Communist nagging, sustained by a vision. He played it well, but he was decisively upstaged by Marchais, whose rambunctious television performances left the impression that the PCF leader could undo anybody's serenity.

Mitterand's leadership of the PS is likely to be challenged, sooner rather than later. Ambitious younger men such as Michel Rocard are eyeing the succession. And the left-wing CERES minority now say that its more issue-oriented approach would have parried the PCF attacks more effectively than the cult of the Mitterand personality.

The vote, with its two-versus-two symmetry, foreshadowed the paralysis of rigidly balanced oppositions more than the change so many claimed to seek. Any government will be reminded constantly that half the country is against it. And the long, drawn-out campaign has overexposed all party leaders, sapping their credibility. The French have had an overdose of electoral politics. The next scheduled parliamentary elections are five years away. Movement for social change can now be expected to move to other levels, perhaps explosively. ■



of 45.1 percent. The far left got 3.3 percent.

The left could claim a percentage victory in the first round only by an optimistic interpretation of the vote scattered between a mass of protest candidates, some of whom—notably the ecologists and feminists—refused to be labeled left or right. But if it was reasonable to conclude that a majority of voters had rejected the right, it was not clear that they were ready to embrace the left. The vote showed France split down the middle, with no clear majority on either side.

Partnership resumed.

Back in January, Marchais had said the PCF would have to do better than its 1973 showing of 21 percent in order to resume partnership with the PS. But the day after the first round, he hightailed over to the PS headquarters with his 20.5 percent

district-by-district method of electing deputies. This was designed to move France away from a multi-party parliamentary system towards a more American-style setup with a strong presidency and something approaching a two-party system.

Unless, like the MRG, they can make deals with larger parties on the basis of pockets of local vote-getting ability, small parties tend to get knocked out in the first round. It takes 12.5 percent in the first round to qualify for the second.

The first round was meant to be a rough equivalent of the American party primary. The system encourages the bigger parties to make deals with each other for the second round runoff, and to campaign against their potential partner in the first in order to be in the strongest possible position in making those deals.

The pattern that has emerged of two

LATIN AMERICA

The Brazilian model becomes unglued



General Joao Baptista Figueredo (right) with former president Emilio Garrastazu Medici in Rio De Janeiro in 1969.

By Bruce Vandervort

FOR SOME TIME NOW, OBSERVERS have been hoping that domestic criticism and American government pressure on the human rights front would combine to force a liberalization of Brazil's military dictatorship. Those hopes were dashed by the announcement Jan. 4 that Brazilian president Ernesto Geisel had selected General Joao Batista Figueiredo, boss of the nation's secret service, to succeed him in 1979. Although the military's candidate will be opposed at the ruling Arena party's presidential convention in April by Senator Jose de Magalhaes Pinto, a civilian and the standard-bearer of disgruntled business circles, Geisel's nod is expected to be decisive.

In any case, the Arena candidate runs no risk of losing the race in 1979, since constitutional restrictions make it impossible for the MDB, the only legal "opposition" party, to win either this year's congressional elections or the presidency.

While the choice of Figueiredo effectively bars the door to any political changes from the top, Brazil's military government appears to be in deeper trouble than at any time since it assumed power (with American help) in 1964. Significantly, its difficulties have little direct relationship to widely-publicized protests against torture in Brazil or to pressure for democratization from the nation's press or church hierarchy.

Rather, these campaigns reflect and amplify growing mass discontent with the "Brazilian model" of economic development. Long contested by the workers and peasants who suffered most from its inequities, that model has lately come under fire from important segments of

the Brazilian business community, supposedly its main beneficiary.

Business runs scared.

A cascade of data released at the end of 1977 offers insight into why the businessmen are suddenly running scared.

- The rate of growth of Brazil's GNP, steady at around 8 percent per annum throughout the 1960s, fell to 4 percent a year in 1975 and has not picked up appreciably since.

- While the country's crucial balance of payments deficit has somewhat recovered from the massive slump of 1974 (\$4.6 billion), Brazil ended 1977 with a trade deficit of \$68 million, despite a good year for coffee and soybean sales. Prospects for coffee exports, which bring in nearly 45 percent of Brazil's foreign exchange, are considered gloomy over the long haul. Other key exports are in for equally rough sledding in 1978. Brazilian textiles face rising tariff barriers in Europe and North America; higher import duties slashed Brazilian shoe exports by some 9 percent in 1977. A recently-announced moratorium on Latin American beef shipments to the EEC is expected to hit Brazil almost as badly as neighboring Argentina.

- As of March 1977, Brazil's foreign debt stood at \$27.674 billion. Outlays for servicing this debt eat up about 40 percent of the nation's annual export earnings. The situation is likely to worsen in future since the structure of Brazil's foreign debt is changing: short-term obligations to private banks—at higher interest rates—are beginning to predominate, as the country's credit rating with the big international lending agencies has become shaky.

In normal times, the Geisel regime might have succeeded in passing off this

sad tale of economic woe as an unfortunate but natural by-product of the current world economic recession. However, facts are now beginning to accumulate that tell a different story.

"Trickle down" theory.

The country's economic plight derives from an essentially *political* decision taken by Brazil's military rulers in 1964: to outflank social revolution through a strategy of rapid industrialization financed largely by foreign investments and loans. To the extent that economic justice entered into its plans at all, the government argued that improvements in the lot of the working class and peasant majority would come via a "trickling down" of the fruits of a burgeoning GNP.

For the first decade of its rule, the military fostered a development through stimulating domestic consumer goods production. State subsidies, tax exemptions and the virtual outlawing of unions lured in Volkswagen and Ford to assemble cars, Sony to crank out TV sets and a host of U.S. and European-based multinationals to provide the rest of the trappings of modern consumer society.

By 1974, however, it was clear that this private consumer-oriented strategy was in trouble. Since government planners had coupled stimulation of consumerism with rigid wage controls and curbs on land reform, the domestic market proved too small to absorb the flood of consumer goods. Further, the nation's booming growth rate had run head-on into the whopping trade deficit of 1974.

The generals panicked and shifted gears. Henceforth, growth would be fueled by a combination of foreign trade expansion and development of the country's natural resources, particularly in the energy field. Government ministers began shut-

tling abroad to try to swap Brazilian foodstuffs for OPEC oil, or to convince Africans that their "common heritage" implied the purchase of Brazilian-made implements.

Brazilian footwear threatened to swamp shoemakers from Brockton to Bologna, and Brazilian textiles began to make inroads in a number of developed country markets. Massive loans were negotiated to finance hydro-electric projects and, more recently, nuclear power plants, in a frantic effort to ease reliance on petroleum imports.

Eliminating computer market.

Contradictory at first glance, the two sets of development programs described above have one important element in common: reliance on foreign capital. This dependency deprives the nation of control over the ultimate levers of economic decision-making and threatens to exclude domestic enterprise from lucrative internal and external markets. It has stoked the ire of Brazilian businessmen.

One case has surfaced in recent months that highlights the dilemma.

Last October consultants to the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in Geneva completed research showing that an international cartel of electrical equipment makers had "systematically decimated" Brazilian competition over the past 14 years through market-sharing and price-fixing pacts and tight control over modern technology.

The UNCTAD study, released this January, details the Brazilian operations of the International Electrical Association (IEA), a cartel of multinational firms set up in 1930, which today groups some 90 of the world's leading electrical equipment manufacturers. U.S.-based companies, including GE and Westinghouse, two IEA charter members, are excluded from formal membership by a 1948 law forbidding American firms from entering international cartels. They do, however, abide by the association's dictates, since the cartel maintains a "defense fund" to deal with unruly "outsiders."

The goal of the IEA's activities in Brazil, however, seems not to be to take over domestic production of electrical equipment, but to eliminate it, to pave the way for imports of these products from its members' plants in industrialized countries. In 1974 (the year of Brazil's balance of payments debacle), imports comprised 49.8 percent of the total sales of electrical equipment by the 35 top firms operating there; meanwhile, local plant for the production of these same items was working at only 52 percent of capacity.

The study concludes that the IEA's maneuvering played havoc with Brazil's foreign exchange position: from 1964 to 1974, the value of the nation's imports of electrical equipment rose by 616 percent, going from \$74.5 million to \$533.4 million. Matters stand to get worse. In 1976, foreign firms owned 90 percent of Brazil's electrical equipment sector.

Multinational threats.

Awareness of the threat of multinational dominance in key industrial sectors provoked an unusual response from Brazilian business and government circles last December. The plenary council of CAPRE, Brazil's regulatory body for the electronics industry, voted to restrict domestic minicomputer production to three Brazilian-owned firms. IBM, which holds 65 percent of the country's market in big computers, and Burroughs, its closest competitor, had pulled out all the stops in an effort to influence CAPRE's decision. They had good reason: by 1985 annual turnover in the minicomputer business is likely to reach \$750 million.

The multinationals' tactics in the CAPRE affair offer a textbook example of how meaningless national sovereignty becomes once such firms are let loose on a

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BRITAIN

Tories put racism on political agenda

By Mervyn Jones

LONDON

THE ISSUE OF RACISM HAS CONTINUED to dominate the political scene since Tory leader Margaret Thatcher announced that the British are in fear of being "swamped by an alien culture." Labour's defensive strategy has two aspects. On the one hand, Thatcher is denounced for her dangerous, gutter-level demagoguery. On the other hand, efforts are made to prove that the present government is as tough as any other when it comes to stemming the alleged flood—actually a trickle—of black and Asian immigration.

Significant in this regard is the much-headlined case of Kwai Yuk Tam, an 18-year-old girl from Hongkong. At home she lived in deplorable slum conditions, was cruelly treated by her stepmother, and was twice raped by a half-brother. She arrived in Britain on Dec. 6, 1977, and was allowed to stay temporarily with her brother, a prosperous restaurant-owner who is willing to give her a home and take financial responsibility. After consideration, Home Secretary Merlyn Rees ruled against allowing her to remain, and on Feb. 25 she was put on a Hongkong plane.

The Home Office statement claims that she has enough money to live on her own in Hongkong. This isn't true, so far as the girl knows, but probably Hongkong welfare officials will be instructed to make it come true. The statement says: "Inquiries have failed to disclose that Miss Tam's circumstances deserve exceptional treatment." One can interpret this to mean that if one Asian can use a hard-luck story to gain admittance, thousands of others can do the same—or racists will say so and it will be grist to their mill. It's the old story of how racist pressure (or the fear of racist pressure) can determine government decisions.

March banned.

In the same week, attention was focussed on the London district of Ilford, scene of a hard-fought by-election. It's a sedately respectable lower-middle-class neighborhood with only 3,000 black or Asian inhabitants and 7,000 Jews. The Jews, whose families arrived in Hitler's time or earlier, naturally react with aversion to racist and fascist groups. It ought to be poor territory for the National Front. But the NF contests all by-elections nowadays to sustain its claim to be a substantial political party, so it contested Ilford.

The NF then announced plans for a march through Ilford on Feb. 25. Left-wing groups, notably the Socialist Workers' party, are pledged to oppose such marches by force, and draw support from many people in the Labour party and trade unions, plus ordinary citizens with an abhorrence of fascism. Demands for a ban on the march came from wide sections of the Ilford community, not least from shopkeepers who feared damage to their property.



Tory leader Margaret Thatcher

In a March election near London, the Tories and the National Front made racism the issue. Labour quickly became defensive.

This put Sir David McNee, London's police chief, on the spot. He is new to London, with experience in Scotland, and hasn't won the confidence of social and political organizations here. Due to a historical anomaly, London's police are not controlled by the city administration—as in all other towns and cities—but come directly under the authority of the Home Secretary. Home Secretary Rees can ban marches, under powers conferred by the Public Order Act of 1936 (a response to Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists, precursors to the NF), but can act only on a recommendation from McNee.

Last year, McNee turned down fervent community pleas to recommend a ban on an NF march through Lewisham, a London district with a sizeable black population. The police, he asserted, had the resources to preserve order. But despite the mobilization of practically every London cop, the result was violent street-fighting on a scale not seen in Britain for quite a time (certainly not since leftists tried to storm the American embassy during the Vietnam war). McNee is generally considered to have blundered.

Therefore, he came down in favor of a ban on the Ilford march and Rees agreed.

The action taken was a ban on all marches in the entire London area for two months. It averted another Lewisham, but it leaves many people unhappy for three good reasons.

1) The NF replaced the march with a "mass canvass," with hundreds of supporters walking the Ilford streets in groups, and a meeting in a local school. SWP members arrived in large numbers to establish a counter-presence and to picket the school. Over 5,000 police had to be drafted in to patrol the streets and protect the NF members, who reached the school in buses between police cordons. Fear wasn't exorcized; shopkeepers boarded up their premises. There was no serious violence, but there were some scuffles and 21 arrests (all of left-wingers, naturally). Banning marches, in fact, doesn't suffice to remove a tense situation and a heavy strain on police resources.

2) Believers in civil liberties are worried by a blanket ban on all marches. Plans have necessarily been cancelled for a march of ecologists protesting schemes for dumping nuclear waste, and a march of students protesting cuts in their grants. No one seriously believes that either would have led to disorder. The Public Order Act empowers the Home Secretary to ban "any class of march or procession," and this has been interpreted to mean political as distinct from religious marches. (The only processions to be seen in London for the next two months will be those of the Salvation Army.) A strong case could be made that a racist march is in a class by itself.

3) Anyway, what happens when the two months expire? The order can, of course, be renewed, so perhaps we are headed for a long-term prohibition. This would be a serious inroad on civil rights, and would penalize all minority groups who don't attract crowds to indoor meetings, don't get on television, and rely on taking to the streets to make an impact. But if the ban is short-term, the unsolved problem recurs.

Nobody has a simple answer, except the SWP which says: ban the NF as an organization. But to outlaw the expression of opinion, however repugnant, would be a highly dangerous precedent. Even in Northern Ireland the Sinn Féin (recognized as the political voice of the IRA) remains legal.

It's also true, of course, that the roots of racism lie in social deprivation, unemployment, and all the ailments of present-day Britain and of the large cities in particular. This is why, although the NF has relatively few enrolled members and its marchers are always heavily outnumbered by protesting left-wingers, it can attract a disturbing number of by-election votes.

Editor's Note: In the March 2 Ilford election, Vivian Bedell, the conservative candidate, won. Her 50-to-38 percent margin was attributed by the Opinion Research Center to the Tory attack on immigrants. The National Front finished fourth with just under 5 percent.

Brazil

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country's economy. Prior to the December announcement, IBM and its friends had let it be known that they would protest an unfavorable outcome to the U.S. government, which would take the case to the ongoing General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) talks in Geneva. Rumors also circulated to the effect that the U.S.-based companies might intervene with the World Bank to stop loans to Brazil. Finally, a manifesto signed by 14 foreign corporations operating in Brazil, including IBM and Burroughs, charged the Geisel government with "abuse of economic power" and threat-

ened to invest their capital to set up minicomputer plants in other LAFTA (Latin American Free Trade Association) countries.

That a decision to exclude the U.S.-based firms was taken in the face of such opposition may have been due to the multinationals' heavy-handedness. Or it may have been a manifestation of belated economic nationalism. In any case, Elcio Costa Couto, the president of CAPRE, termed it "the first important defeat that the transnationals have suffered in Brazil in the last 20 years."

Diversifying dependence.

For all that this sudden awakening of Brazilian business circles to the perils of dependency is a salutary development, it has obvious limitations. To begin with, the kind of economic nationalism now

being talked up in Brazil is too narrowly anti-Yanqui to hold much promise of a genuine re-evaluation of the nation's economic priorities. The best option the businessmen have come up with is to diversify Brazil's sources of foreign capital.

This scheme was outlined at the first European/Latin American Symposium on Economic Cooperation, held in Montreux, Switzerland, last October. Brazil is representatives there called for heavier European investment in their country's industry and greater accessibility to European credit, to offset reliance on American capital and American-controlled banks. Some steps in this direction have already been taken. Between January 1976 and June 1977, Argentina, Brazil and Mexico borrowed some \$10 billion on the Eurodollar market.

Clearly, this option holds out little

hope for a meaningful re-evaluation of Brazil's economic development priorities. At most, it promises to "diversify dependence." The punch needed to shift the country's development objectives away from "growthmanship" toward economic justice can only be provided by organizations that represent the majority of the population, including the unions and peasant leagues. These organizations have been unable to function freely since 1964, due to state restrictions and the systematic elimination of leaders and militants. Still, the current disquiet of Brazil's national bourgeoisie, the military regime's erstwhile prop, may signal the opening up of the space needed for a resurgence of the mass organizations.

Bruce Vandervort is a Geneva journalist who writes regularly on international economic affairs for *IN THESE TIMES*.

DOES LOW-LEVEL RADIATION KILL?

Serious evidence is coming to light that "safe" doses of radiation cause high rates of cancer. Hundreds of thousands have been exposed, while the government has tried to suppress the information.

A series of congressional hearings over the last two months, little noticed by the major media, may spell eventual doom for the nuclear power industry.

Beginning Jan. 24 the House Commerce subcommittee on Health and the Environment, chaired by Rep. Paul Rogers (D-FL), has been conducting hearings on the health effects of low level radiation. In the process the committee has discovered what appears to be a sustained and systematic effort on the part of government agencies to sabotage studies and to cover up their results.

The evidence presented so far strongly indicates that low-level ionizing radiation is significantly more hazardous than previously admitted by government and industry, and that present levels of tolerable radiation may be 10 to 20 times too high. If this is true, the future of nuclear power may be in jeopardy and the government and nuclear industry may find themselves faced with thousands of lawsuits from military personnel and civilians or their families for radiation-induced illness and death.

Among the various aspects of low level radiation that the committee has examined are:

- The effects of radiation on GIs who were exposed in military tests from 1945 to 1962.

- The work of University of Pittsburgh researcher Dr.

Thomas Mancuso on the effects of radiation on nuclear workers, and government efforts to suppress it.

- A study by Dr. Thomas Najarian, in conjunction with the *Boston Globe*, that examined the effects of low level radiation on workers at the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard.

- The work of Dr. Irwin Bross on the side effects of ordinary diagnostic X-rays.

The effects on GIs and the Mancuso study are examined elsewhere in this section. (See also IN THESE TIMES, Jan. 18 for more on the military's use of GIs in nuclear blasts?)

In the Portsmouth case Dr. Najarian discovered that shipyard employees exposed to radiation had a cancer death rate of more than twice the national average and nearly 80 percent higher than the rate for other shipyard workers who didn't work with radiation. At the same time exposed workers died of leukemia more than four times as often as the general population.

Najarian, a hematology fellow with the Veterans Administration Hospital in Boston, described the difficulties he had encountered from the Navy and the VA in completing his personal study to the House subcommittee Feb. 28.

He had become interested, he said, when one of his patients, a retired welder who had been diagnosed with leukemia, mentioned that some of his fellow workers had died at young ages. But when Najarian sought information from Navy officials at Portsmouth, he was turned down.

In October 1977, on his own, Najarian sent questionnaires to the families of 40 former shipyard workers whose names he had obtained. Four days later his immediate supervisor at the VA was called by officials in Washington and asked about Najarian's study. Najarian was told that he had to make it clear to all those he contacted that the VA was not supporting his work.

Najarian then sought out the *Boston Globe* for assistance. Some 100,000 death certificates were then examined and the names of 1,722 deceased shipyard workers and the various causes of their deaths were identified. *Globe* reporters then interviewed the families of 592 workers to determine if the men had been exposed to radiation at the shipyard.

According to the *Globe*, the two-month study revealed that:

- The cancer death rate for shipyard workers found exposed to radiation was 38.4 percent, compared to 21.7 percent for workers not exposed, and to 18 percent for the general population.

- The leukemia death rate for shipyard employees who worked in exposed areas was 450 percent higher than that for the general population. While less than 1 percent of the general population die from leukemia, four percent of exposed employees had died from the blood disease.

- Deaths from cancer of the lymph glands were 125 percent higher than the national rate and 60 percent higher than that for nonexposed workers.

Older workers are most seriously affected

According to the *Globe*, the most startling statistic emerged when deaths were grouped by age categories: between the ages of 60-69 nearly 60 percent of



The Hanford Atomic Facility (above) manufactured plutonium for the military. Its workers have suffered higher rates of cancer.

those workers whose jobs involved radiation exposure died of cancer. The rate for non-nuclear workers was 26.1 percent. The paper cited the long germination period for cancer as responsible for the high figure. The effects of radiation exposure in the '60s have only begun to show in the '70s.

The study also discovered that despite Navy assertions that safety precautions have been regularly improved over the years, the cancer rate has remained relatively constant for exposed workers.

According to the *Globe*, the Navy refused cooperation in completing the study. Requests under the Freedom of Information Act for the names of shipyard workers who have been exposed to radiation since nuclear repair work began in 1959, and later for information about which of the 1,722 deceased shipyard workers the *Globe* had identified had worked with radiation were denied. Upon completion of the study shipyard officials refused requests for interviews or comment.

nostic X-rays. He found that infants whose parents had been exposed to X-rays had a higher rate of genetic damage, and that X-rays nearly doubled the rate of leukemia in men.

In May 1977, two months after Bross presented his report, the government-subsidized National Cancer Institute elected to discontinue his grant.

The exposure standards for diagnostic radiation exposure are similar to those for nuclear workers. If these are, in fact, ten to 20 times too high, as has been suggested to the House subcommittee, significant changes in X-ray and nuclear technology would be required to lower exposures.

Bob Alvarez of the Environmental Policy Center in Washington, D.C., points out that diagnostic radiation is the most prevalent form of exposure in the U.S. today. "X-rays aren't bad," he says, "but the mindless use of radiation causing significant increases in leukemia, heart disease and genetic damage is."

Alvarez, who lobbied for the House hearings and who has been monitoring their progress, says that it is going to be a long, uphill fight to force the nuclear industry to abide by lower exposure standards. The alternative, he says, will be for the industry to increase its use of transient workers, who will work with radiation for only a short time before they are "burnt out." This, he says, will simply spread the cancer, making it less visible and less subject to examination.

One of the more curious aspects of the low level radiation controversy is the seeming lack of interest on the part of the major news media. Despite the explosive and potentially far-reaching character of the evidence presented to the House subcommittee, few reports have appeared in the press. Burke Zimmerman, a committee staff member, reports that little has gone out over the wires. The *New York Times* has covered a couple of hearings, but without reporting the details of the various studies that have been presented to the committee. The *Washington Post* has done better, giving the hearings regular coverage. The *Boston Globe*, of course, sponsored one of the studies, and the Pittsburgh papers have covered the hearings. But by and large little has gotten out to the public.

—Doyle Niemann

At the House subcommittee hearing Feb. 28, Adm. H.G. Rickover criticized the Najarian-*Globe* study. "I don't know if there is a problem at Portsmouth," Rickover said. "From the best scientific evidence we don't see a problem." He also criticized Najarian and other scientists who "just because they have the title doctor...[are] sounding off about things they don't know anything about."

Nonetheless, Rickover, contradicting previous Navy statements, did agree that there was a need for a nationwide analysis of workers' exposure to radiation at the Navy's six shipyards.

The effects of diagnostic x-rays

The work of Dr. Irwin Bross, director of biostatistics at Roswell Park Memorial Cancer Institute in Buffalo, N.Y., may have the most far-reaching consequences.

Bross spent nine years on a three-state survey documenting the side effects of ordinary diag-

UNCOVERING NUCLEAR CANCER

When the leading occupational health researcher working for the Atomic Energy Commission began to discover that "safe" radiation causes cancer, his troubles began.

by Richard Pollock

Dr. Thomas E. Mancuso was once a quiet, spectacled researcher at the University of Pittsburgh who squirreled himself in a hopelessly cluttered office and tried to translate statistics into meaningful information about the human condition. He was not prepared for the controversy that would embroil him in a national debate and catapult him into a public spotlight where his chief adversary would be his decade-and-a-half long sponsor, the United States government.

For 14 years Mancuso labored over the case histories of hundreds of thousands of men and women who at one time served in U.S. government nuclear weapons installations. His task was to sift through nearly a million fragmented files and determine if workers' chronic exposure to presumably "safe" levels of ionizing radiation had caused any deleterious health effects. For 12 years Mancuso continually received "negative" findings, which meant that the low levels of radiation seemed to have had no noticeable effect.

Then, in the thirteenth year of his study, he obtained the first glimmers of "positive" responses. When he encountered some brief statistical problems, he called in Dr. Alice Stewart, perhaps the world's leading radiation epidemiologist.

Stewart, the pioneer of radiation epidemiology at Oxford University, and her chief statistician George Kneale traveled to Pennsylvania and culled the mountains of files Mancuso had assembled.

The results: Low levels of radiation that were previously presumed to be safe had caused noticeably high incidences of cancer to the lung, pancreas and bone marrow among atomic workers. Their findings would have an incalculable impact upon occupational health for all nuclear workers, as well as for members of the general public who occasionally submit themselves to diagnostic X-rays.

In 1977 the Department of Energy suddenly terminated Dr. Mancuso's contract, ordered him to turn over his 14 years of data and transferred the project "in-house" to a national lab.

Mancuso, now age 66, is fighting for the occupational health profession, of which he is one of the acknowledged founders. In 1942, as a medical doctor, he learned about occupational health problems—then called industrial hygiene—when the nation's Public Health Service dispatched him to the Michigan Division of Industrial Health to

oversee the factory environment in wartime production facilities.

For the remainder of the war Mancuso was sent from state to state as an inspector, and his reputation as an experienced industrial health researcher grew.

He founded the industrial health divisions for the states of Ohio and Oregon, and presided as chief of both divisions during his career. Mancuso also developed the nation's first occupational disease code, which today still stands as the foundation for the U.S. Occupational Safety and Health Administration.

In 1962 the National Cancer Institute awarded him the National Career Development Award for research he conducted on the long term biological effects of the chemical environment and for his studies on environmental cancer. Dr. Mancuso also received international recognition as the first researcher to link brain tumors to industrial chemicals during a study of rubber workers.

In 1964 the Atomic Energy Commission tapped him as their principal researcher on the long term effects of low-level ionizing radiation on the human body. They said they chose him because he was then the leading authority on environmental cancer.

The term "low-level radiation" relates to levels set by the now defunct National Council of Radiation Protection. It refers to doses that are "well below" the levels that would "likely result" in some form of disease. Low-level doses are dispensed all the time and can originate from medical or dental X-rays, from atomic power plants, nuclear-powered ships and fallout from nuclear weapons testing.

Dr. Mancuso's findings may now have forever shattered the myths about the "safety" of certain levels of radiation and he may himself have brought about a revolution in our handling of nuclear materials. But throughout it all, *IN THESE TIMES* found him quiet and modest—the quintessential researcher. Most important, he is eager to get the word out and demonstrates patience to all lay people who wish to learn about his discovery.

Dr. Mancuso, why did the U.S. government initiate this project in the first place?

Well, in 1964 a few representatives of the division of Biology and Medicine of the Atomic Energy Commission came to me and asked me whether I would consider doing a feasibility study to determine whether the record

systems were such where they could all be reorganized and developed so that eventually some meaningful information could be derived in order to move toward the direction of trying to find out if there were any biological effects of low level radiation.

At that time, in 1964, there were only a few people who were keenly interested in it. Actually I think you could count them on one hand; there were four people that were really very interested in this.

Does that mean, in fact, that in the mid-'60s we didn't have enough information or data to make an intelligent decision about the safety of atomic power plants?

Well, I think that's a very good question. What it means in effect is that no study had ever been done to determine

what the long-term biological effects were of workers exposed to radiation over long periods of time. And that is long-term effects measured in subsequent decades.

No study had ever been done of that type and whatever information was available in that particular time period was purely extrapolations, primarily from the atomic bomb victims in Japan ... mathematical extrapolations of extremely high doses of radiations. And of course we had extrapolations from certain types of small population groups who were given radiation while they were suffering from some other illness.

So in effect you could have called it a guess in those days as to what might be a safe level. They really did not know.

Briefly, then, what are your findings?

Well, our findings are that the levels of radiation in the so-called "safe" area definitely cause cancer, specific types of

cancer. And the findings show that levels much below the [safe] standards are carcinogenic. This means that low levels of radiation, much below what anyone had recognized before is a common contributing cause toward the development of cancers.

Could you describe the data base you utilized?

The study actually began in 1965 after I had done a feasibility study and had visited about 14 atomic energy facilities throughout the country. I said yes it could be done because the epidemiological method that I had devised—using the social security system—could help to trace people over decades no matter what state they died in.

The population for which funding was given by the agency was the Hanford population, which is located in Richland, Wash. And that represented 35,000 individuals. That included those who entered from 1944 on, and it included all those who separated from the facility.

This is what's extremely important. This is one of the ways it differed from any other study. No one had ever tested to determine what would happen to all of the individuals who left employment and then developed cancerous diseases ten, 20, 25 years later.

The other population group was the Oak Ridge population at the Oak Ridge facility in Tennessee. Now this meant, of course, going back to the original days [of the Manhattan Project] and getting all of the original contracts and reconstructing the entire employee list and all their radiation exposures, cumulatively and chronologically in time.

This is a very, very formidable task and anybody who had any illusions that this was there waiting for anybody to do is committing a grave mistake. That population



at Oak Ridge represented 105,000 people.

Assuming that your conclusions are correct, what do your findings mean for the atomic industry?

Well, I think it has an enormous impact on industry and it has an impact on society as a whole. The fact of the matter is that we came up with the findings that the estimated cancer risk was about ten times higher than had been estimated before. Therefore, in my opinion the so-called "safe standards"—which are not really safe—should be reduced tenfold, that is they should be made ten times more stringent.

As far as the industry is concerned they will have to recognize that rather than allowing all the employees to reach a much higher level—such as five rem (rad equivalent for humans)—the range will have to be considerably lower. Therefore supervision and protective measures would have to be increased. That's one aspect.

The other aspect, of course, is the fact that the so-called "permissible" standard for the general population around nuclear facilities and the general population as a whole... would have to be altered and whatever measures needed to protect them would have to be implemented. So that's as far as industry is concerned.

But to society as a whole I think this study is extremely important. There is really no need any more to guess relative to low level ionizing radiation. There is no need any more to extrapolate from the extremely high-level dose that was developed at Nagasaki and Hiroshima.

We had... a normal population, effectively screened and given a very fine industrial medical program from the day

one. It was an isolated community, where an excellent hospital was maintained to serve all these people.

This normal population was exposed to chronic doses of low-level ionizing radiation over a span of years. So the empirical criteria necessary was there. If you were to design a study to determine what would be the effect, this was it. Take a population, uniformly badged, uniformly monitored with certain criteria, and you have a model case study.

And because of this, we can say that it's reasonable to apply the findings of this particular study to the general population that is exposed to medical X-rays or ionizing radiation from other sources.

How has the U.S. government received the news of your exhaustive study's findings?

Well, they didn't accept it the first time it was presented to them, which was in October 1976. They tried in various ways to advise me that more research was necessary, that perhaps it would not be best to publish this data at this particular time. But I had made a decision in October 1976 that our preliminary findings indicated that there were harmful effects of low level radiation, and I felt we had a moral and legal responsibility to notify all governmental agencies at the time that we were coming up with this kind of findings. I didn't think it would be appropriate to delay any further.

It's interesting that you note that in October 1976 the government wanted you to postpone release of your findings. Yet in 1974 when Dr. Samuel Milham of Washington State released data that suggested a link between low level radiation and cancer, the federal government wanted you to release your study. And

at that time it was still in an unreconstructed stage, before you had arrived at any definitive conclusions. Is that correct?

Yes, that's the contradiction of the whole thing. This exposes, unfortunately, the government's position, and it raises severe questions relative to the credibility of their true objectiveness.

Not only in 1974, but in the previous years, when our data and progress indicated that the findings were negative—and they were negative for several reasons—they urged me very definitely and very clearly to publish all my data.

I have since found that the so-called negative findings were not negative at all. They were positive. As additional years transpired and we were able to get additional data the findings were wholly different. They were asking me to come out even before I got all the data necessary to do the analysis, which is absolutely out of this world. I didn't get certain types of analysis until March of 1976.

In effect, what you're saying is that the government was extremely eager to prove that nuclear power facilities were safe when the evidence began to shift in the direction that they might be unsafe.

Well, I would say this: since our study was the only study in the world that tried to measure the long-term delayed effects of low-level ionizing radiation, it unveiled a myth and exposed for all to see the hollowness of the assumptions that had been made for years that the nuclear industry was one of the safest industries in the country. This was a misleading statement in the sense that this related to accidents and injuries. Since no

study had ever been done of the long-term delayed effects covering a span of 20 or 30 years, on what basis did they make these statements? How did they really know?

Has your attitude about federal regulation of the nuclear industry changed?

I think there are several conflict of interest problems with the Department of Energy and especially the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

I do not believe the research on health effects of the operation of nuclear facilities, for example, should be in an agency that is promoting nuclear energy. I think all the research should be taken out of that agency and put into health agencies.

As far as the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, I'm definitely disillusioned about that. I have seen a series of attacks relative to our findings that were more emotional than objective as far as I'm concerned. Instead of taking a constructive view, they more or less launched a series of efforts to try to discredit our findings. It so happens that in the long run they did not succeed and no matter what series of attempts are incurred they will not succeed.

When, eventually, it is finally shown that the data is valid, then all that has been accomplished by those people who have made such vicious attacks is that their agencies will have lost their credibility. I think the credibility of the officials at the Department of Energy—whatever credibility existed before—is considerably less.

Now the Department of Energy is trying to take your data away?

Well, I would rephrase that another way: they'll never be able to

take my data away because I'm going to keep it.

The point of the matter is that they've made a "retroactive" blanket request for all the data that I've accumulated. I strongly resent that.

The Department of Energy is attempting to prematurely remove you from this research project too?

Well, in 1974, when Dr. Milham had come up with positive findings, they did not know that I would come up with positive findings the next year. But they had every reason to believe that I would come up with positive findings because I told the people at the AEC at the time that one of the reasons why I had not come up with positive findings was the fact that Dr. Milham's cancer deaths included a longer period of time than mine. In other words, we had identified the deaths that were processed in Social Security at a certain period of time and Dr. Milham, who was there in Washington [state] and who had had the opportunity to see all the recent deaths, recorded much larger deaths than ours, and covered a longer period of time. In my opinion, he came closer to meeting the incubation period for the development of cancer.

They therefore knew something was going to come up and they moved that way to start controlling the data.

Then the government tried to take control of your data by transferring your independent work in house to the Oak Ridge National Laboratories in Tennessee. What reasons have they given to justify the move?

I do not accept any reason that they've given to terminate the project. This was all exposed in congressional hearings on Feb. 8 and 9 this year when Rep. Paul Rogers, chairman of the subcommittee, and the ranking minority leader on the subcommittee, Rep. Tim Carter, began questioning the staff and asked them pointedly a series of questions to uncover what was the basis for termination of this contract.

To put it quite bluntly, what came out was that the reasons that they advanced were not valid (See accompanying story.) *Why and how did you get Dr. Alice Stewart and George Kneale involved in this study?*

Well, Dr. Stewart was on the medical advisory committee to this project and I was concerned about some of the statistical actuarial analysis of some of my data. I asked her if she'd be kind enough to look at the data.

She and her statistician, George Kneale, said in effect, "We think there's something wrong here."

Continued on page 14.



Lynn Coddington/EPC

WHISTLEBLOWER

The courage of convictions.



From left to right: George Kneale, Dr. Thomas Mancuso, Dr. Irwin Bross, Dr. Alice Stewart.

Continued from page 13.

This has to be looked at in greater depth."

And I asked her if she would be willing to come over here from England? So they came over.

George Kneale conducted a review and discovered they the way the analysis was being con-

ducted at that particular point in time if you added enough radiation you could decrease your expectancy of dying from all causes of death by 40 percent. Well this was ridiculous.

I made the decision at that point there was something

wrong. I therefore set into motion a number of steps of asking Dr. Stewart and George Kneale to become my principal consultants for the last year of the project.

Why Dr. Stewart?

I knew of Dr. Stewart because of her pioneering work. Without Dr. Stewart and George Kneale I would not have been able to have identified this particular problem.

Dr. Stewart was formerly at Oxford University. She has written approximately 250 papers. Back in the '50s she initiated the famous, classic study of the Oxford Childhood Survey in which she found a marked correlation with the fact that children who were born of mothers who were X-rayed had a high rate of leukemia. She subsequently received international attention and acclaim for her work.

The keen insight that she had developed in the childhood study was very, very helpful. In effect, she had 20 years doing radiation epidemiology. You know we refer to people as a "father" of occupational cancer or health physics. For Dr. Stewart, of course, you can't say the "father," but she is the "mother" of radiation epidemiology.

George Kneale was at Oxford University and joined her at the University of Birmingham. He's a fine statistician.

What is now going on with the data you have collected?

Well, the point of the matter is that Dr. Stewart and George Kneale have been able to reach a certain point. I have no funds. Dr. Mancuso, during the February congressional hearings, Dr. Theodore Radford of the National Academy of Sciences urged that low-level radiation standards for atomic workers be reduced by a factor of ten. Do you feel somewhat vindicated by this surprise announcement?

I do. Dr. Radford made a statement recommending that based on his information and information relative to other research that he felt it would be advisable to reduce the standards tenfold.

Well, this was completely by surprise. I had no idea at all that Dr. Radford would make this statement. But it was nevertheless reassuring to me to understand the validity of our data and that our data was coinciding with other data.

Where do you go from here?

Well, I have had tremendous support from the public. I'm

quite please and amazed, really, that I've been getting calls from all over the country by individuals who have heard about this particular story and have all encouraged me to stand up and fight. And not to give in to the government in any way.

These words of encouragement I get from people I never heard of and from people I may never see in my life are sources of strength to me, which makes it possible for me to continue.

I don't know how to say this. It may sound improper, but I think my role in life at this particular point is that I have to stand up at this time. And that I'm playing an important role relative to our understanding of radiation. I was indeed fortunate to reach this particular stage. I was indeed fortunate to get Dr. Stewart and George Kneale to help me.

I did have the courage of my convictions to stand firm and not to be intimidated and to take the positions that I have. No matter what happens to me, we will have certain data.

It's a sad commentary about the way things are going.

Richard Pollock is director of the Critical Mass Energy Project in Washington.

OFFICIALS TRY TO SILENCE RESEARCHER

When it became apparent that Dr. Thomas Mancuso was going to come up with the wrong answers, energy officials terminated him and tried to stop his work.

by James A. Millstone

On June 1, 1964, the Atomic Energy Commission initiated a study under the directorship of Dr. Thomas F. Mancuso of the University of Pittsburgh of health and mortality rate of AEC employees. The purpose of the study, according to testimony of the Department of Energy's James Liverman, was to confirm predictions that radiation exposure effects would be "minimal and probably non-demonstrable."

Things went well so long as it appeared that Mancuso's study would back up the government's contention that there was no danger from low radiation doses. But as evidence began to mount that the results would be different, trouble began.

First, in 1974, Dr. Samuel D. Milham, an epidemiologist at the Washington Department of Health, released findings of a 5 percent higher than expected incidence of cancer among workers at the Hanford Atomic Facilities in Richland, Wash.

The AEC, worried about the impact of Milham's findings, hired Battelle Pacific Northwest to review and refute his findings. When it appeared that Battelle's report might confirm Milham, the AEC persuaded Milham to hold off publishing his results. Milham told a congressional committee that has been investigating the effects of low level radiation and the Mancuso study in particular, that he agreed to the AEC request not to publish his findings because he knew that the Mancuso study was in progress, and because he knew the matter was "sensitive" and "might cause problems."

Milham didn't know that Dr. Sidney Marks, of the Energy Research and Development Administration, then contacted Mancuso and asked him to issue a press release, which Marks had prepared, repudiating Milham's findings. Mancuso refused, saying he needed time to collect and analyze data and that a statement

at that time would not be based on scientific findings. (Milham had a distinct advantage over Mancuso in data collection. As a Washington state health official he had early access to death certificates, whereas Mancuso had to employ a much delayed, though nationwide, procedure through the social security system.)

Immediately after his refusal to repudiate Milham, Mancuso's previously cordial relations with the AEC deteriorated. In March 1975 the AEC informed Mancuso that his grant would be terminated on July 31, 1977.

The House Commerce Subcommittee on Health and Environment held hearings Feb. 8-9 on the Mancuso termination. Much of the attention focused on the specific events that led up to the decision by Liverman, who is now awaiting Senate confirmation as an assistant secretary of energy, to end the Mancuso project, and on the role of Dr. Marks.

In December 1974, Liverman, then assistant administrator for environment and safety at ERDA, received a recommendation from his staff, prepared by Marks, that Mancuso's study be moved "in house" to the Medical and Health Sciences Division of the Oak Ridge Associated Universities.

Initially, Liverman testified that the reason for the transfer was Mancuso's "imminent retirement." But Mancuso was only 62 in 1974 and the policy of the University of Pittsburgh is to allow research professors to continue working until 70, provided they obtain funding. Liverman, in fact, later testified that his use of the words "imminent retirement" was "unfortunate, inappropriate and perhaps even in error."

The real reason for the transfer of research efforts, Liverman then said, was "a judgment by his [Mancuso's] scientific peers that the work should be limited, terminated, or another investigator selected to be principal in-



James Liverman of the Department of Energy (above) was responsible for firing Mancuso and for trying to keep the lid on low-level radiation research.

investigator." When pressed further, Liverman admitted he had never seen the actual peer group review and passed the buck back to Marks, who had prepared the summary from which Liverman had read.

But the original reviewers, according to a memo found among material given to the House subcommittee by the Energy department, agreed that the Mancuso study should be continued. Only Marks among the six panel members had recommended that the work be stopped.

Marks moves to Batelle

In 1976 Marks, who had recommended the termination of the Mancuso contract, left the Department of Energy (successor to ERDA) to work for Battelle Pacific Northwest. At the same time, Battelle received an \$80 million a year contract from the Energy department, part of which was to be used in continuing Mancuso's work. Battelle, which has several major contracts with the Energy department, had never before carried out human epidemiological studies, and did not have the technical and scientific capacity to do so at that time.

The House subcommittee also discovered that no principal investigator had been hired to replace Mancuso, even though more than two years had passed since Mancuso was notified of his termination. When asked whether this was typical procedure, Liverman admitted it was not.

Rep. Paul Rogers (D-FL), chairman of the subcommittee, responded that, "It's the most disordered, unstructured mess that I've looked into in some time. The Department of Justice may have to be called in to sort this out." The committee is expected to hear more testimony on the Mancuso study and related matters in the near future.

James A. Millstone is a nuclear theorist at NORAD.

JUST HOW MUCH IS TOO MUCH

Once scientists believed there was a safe exposure level, now they doubt any exposure is good.

by James A. Millstone

At the heart of the controversy over the effects of low level radiation lie two questions. First, whether or not there exists some safe level of radiation below which it is harmless (the "threshold level"), or whether any amount of radiation, no matter how small, is dangerous. Second, just how dangerous is ionizing radiation in absolute terms—that is, how many actual deaths would result from the exposure of a given population to a given amount of radiation?

During the first half of the atomic age (1942-1960) it was generally accepted by scientists that there existed a safe level of exposure to ionizing radiation. So long as a person did not exceed this threshold or safe level, it was believed, no harm would result. It was thought that any radiation damage that did occur would be immediately repaired by the body.

Complete repair is no longer believed possible; the degree to which the body is able to repair itself is not the focus of the scientific controversy.

Everyone agrees there is some repair, professor Karl Z. Morgan, health physicist at the Georgia Institute of Technology and the director of the Health Physics Division at the Oak Ridge National Laboratory for 29 years, told the House subcommittee, but "the diehards do not seem willing or able to accept the preponderance of evidence that there is never complete repair of radiation damage...since even at very low exposure there are many thousands of interactions of the radiation with cells in the human body. It is inconceivable that all the billions of irradiated and damaged cells would be repaired." And damaged cells are just the ones that develop into a malignancy over periods of five to 70 years. How this actually occurs is still an unsolved mystery.

Morgan went on to say that "one of the problems we face today is that many scientists had accepted the threshold hypothesis as law and had lived with this hypothesis so long that they became staid or petrified in their thinking, and now they cannot believe or accept the fact that the threshold hypothesis was wrong."

Since 1960 an overwhelming amount of data has been accumulated that shows there is no safe level of exposure to radiation. No dose of radiation can be so low that the risk of causing cancer is zero. There is no threshold.

Even if there were, agreement among the scientific community that any amount of radiation could cause cancer—that there is no threshold—there would still remain the question of what the actual risk is at very low levels of exposure.

At intermediate to high levels of exposure it is known that the risk of getting cancer follows a linear relationship to the dose. This "linear hypotheses" holds that the risk of cancer is directly proportional to the dose received.

For some time it had been gen-

erally thought that when the linear hypothesis is applied to low doses it greatly over-estimates the risk of cancer. The present level for maximum "permissible" occupational exposure, last set in 1956 at five rem (roentgen equivalent man) per year, is based on this assumption.

However, Dr. Morgan told the subcommittee, "I am amazed and appalled at the large number of scientists (mostly associated in some way with ERDA—now DOE) who in spite of an overwhelming amount of data supporting the linear hypothesis at low doses, are still saying we have no human exposure data at low doses and that there is a large factor of conservatism in this hypothesis when it is applied to low doses."

In fact, the study of Mancuso and co-workers, Drs. A. Stewart and G. Kneale, on the workers exposed to low-level radiation at the Hanford Atomic Facility, if correct, says that the linear hypothesis greatly *under-estimates* the risk of cancer—that it is *non-conservative*. According to Dr. Alice Stewart, professor of epidemiology at Birmingham University in England, their findings indicate that the present occupational standards should be lowered by a factor of ten to 20. This means a maximum permissible exposure of 0.25 to 0.5 rem/year, rather than the current five rem/year.

(This should be contrasted with James Liverman's opening statement to the subcommittee: "It is important to state at this time that the 1977 reevaluation of all available information on the effects of ionizing radiation has not indicated a need for any significant change in the currently used guidelines for the protection of the general public or workers in the nuclear industry.")

The implications of this data are quite dramatic. According to Morgan, "...[W]ere we to reduce the present MPE (maximum permissible exposure) by a factor of ten, I seriously doubt that many of our present nuclear power plants would find it feasible to continue in operation." This is due to the so-called "normal emissions" of radiation from nuclear power plants during their usual operation.

The nuclear industry is even having trouble keeping up with the current standards. At present there is a growing practice of "burning out" temporary employees hired to solve the problems of repair work in high radiation exposure areas. This can only be considered criminal.

Finally, even lowering the maximum permissible exposure dose by a factor of ten to 0.5 rem/year—also recommended by Dr. E. Radford, chairman of the Biological Effects of Ionizing Radiation Committee of the National Academy of Sciences—might not really solve anything at all. It may just lead to the hiring of more people, each to receive smaller doses, but with the net effect of causing more cancers.

James A. Millstone is a nuclear theorist at NORAD



More than 160,000 military personnel have been exposed to nuclear blasts. The damage is only now beginning to show.

HUMAN GUINEA PIGS

Elementary safeguards for human life and health were thrown to the winds in the Pentagon's military testing program

by Tod Ensign and Michael Uhl

More than 160,000 men and women have been deliberately exposed to nuclear bomb blasts by the American military. Recent evidence strongly indicates that the Pentagon was grossly indifferent to the dangers involved in its use of military personnel in its nuclear testing program, and that this indifference has had serious consequences for the individuals involved.

Maj. Alan Skerker of the Army's Operations and Plans Nuclear Division presented a detailed post mortem on the military's use of troops at nuclear test sites to the House Commerce subcommittee on Health and the Environment Jan. 25. A systematic effort by the military to circumvent outside regulation and monitoring of its activities was revealed. So was an increasingly callous disregard for the lives of military personnel.

Army ground forces were first exposed to a nuclear blast at the Desert Rock I test on Nov. 1, 1951. At this blast 5,266 soldiers were stationed a minimum distance of seven miles from ground-zero. The Atomic Energy Commission, nominally in charge of ensuring the safety of the personnel, established a cumulative exposure limit of one "rad" (roentgen) per soldier. AEC monitors carrying survey meters marched at the head of each column of troops who entered the blast area after detonation, and each GI wore a film badge that recorded radiation exposure.

After Desert Rock I, private consultants hired by the Pentagon criticized this arrangement: "Under the restriction of the AEC, it was difficult to make the maneuver realistic. The use of weapons, opposition to a simulated enemy, and mock combat were absent. The troops moving across terrain in single file [led by AEC monitors] was not realistic..."

At this point in the hearings Maj. Skerker observed, "I presume this view was shared by others because at subsequent tests there [was] increased participation [in] military maneuvers... [also] radiation safety responsibilities [shifted] from the AEC

to troop unit commanders."

In the next series of nuclear tests involving large numbers of troops, Desert Rock IV, the permissible exposure level was increased to three "rads" and the troops were placed in trenches only four miles from ground-zero. Army chemical personnel replaced the AEC monitors and ground troops marched to within 500 feet of ground-zero after the blast, where they rendezvoused with airborne units who were dropped by parachute onto the blast site. Skerker's report stated that the Pentagon could find radiation exposure data for only a third of the 7,224 GIs who participated in this test.

The Army is given total control

On June 1, 1952, during the last test blast of the Desert Rock IV series, the AEC delegated total control for radiation safety for all future blasts to the Army. A document published at that time said: "The Army was given complete responsibility for radiological safety of military personnel. Permission was given for troops to maneuver toward and around ground-zero without restriction as long as there was no interference with AEC instrumentation."

The Skerker report argued that the three rad limit used by the Pentagon was consistent with civilian radiation standards at the time. But critics point out that he didn't account for GIs who participated in more than one test. He also assumed that thorough decontamination of personnel and equipment was conducted after each blast. To date, the authors have interviewed three military participants, each of whom confirmed that no decontamination measures were taken with their units following the blasts.

In later test series precautions against radiation exposure appear to have become even more lax. For example:

- At the Desert Rock V "Nancy" blast on March 24, 1953, it was reported that "a wind shift blew the radioactive cloud over the trenches, which were two and a half miles from

site. There was heavy fallout in the maneuver area and an exposure of 14 rads was reported... The units were ordered out, but difficulty [was reported] in withdrawing the forces...." Only one film badge per platoon had been issued—due to the heavy lab workload!

- At a blast on April 18, 1953, code named "Badger," 2,729 Marines were exposed to six rads in their trenches a little more than two miles from ground-zero. However, as the Chief of Army Field Forces had raised the permissible radiation level to six rads for the Desert Rock V series, this was not considered an "over exposure."

- All radiation badge information from 15 blasts of the Desert Rock VI series in 1955 are missing.

The recent national publicity about GIs exposed during nuclear testing has apparently pushed the Pentagon into an intensified search for survivors. In a report issued simultaneously with the House hearing, the Pentagon proposed a "priority effort" to locate participants in a variety of test series. Until recently the Army had only one officer working part time to locate blast veterans from only one major blast. Due to congressional prodding, a special task force has now been organized to accelerate the search.

For the present the government appears to be limiting itself to an in-depth study of only one test, "Operation Smoky," (JTT, Jan. 18). But Maj. Skerker candidly observed: "Smoky is only a point of departure...we need others. The problem of determining if health risks are associated with participation in nuclear tests cannot be resolved by a study of Smoky alone."

Tod Ensign and Michael Uhl are associated with Citizen Soldier, a GI rights organization that has launched a program to locate and examine as many veterans of nuclear blasts as possible. Interested vets are urged to contact them at 175 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10010, (212) 777-3470. The Pentagon has established its own toll-free number for veterans of nuclear tests to call as well, (800) 638-8300.

Socialism in their *TIME*

To be on the cover of *Time* is to have "arrived." Socialism was on *Time*'s cover last week (March 13). But in this case, it's *Time* that has arrived—by coming to terms with the fact that "Socialism in its various manifestations is now the world's dominant political and economic ideology."

Time's discovery is a recognition that socialism is superceding capitalism as a universal outlook in humanity's further evolution.

Time's 8-page Special Report, "Socialism: Trials and Errors," may be disdained as a coarse mixture of fact and fiction, of American provincial pride and prejudice. But illuminations and realities often come dressed in distortion. Many important ones surface in *Time*'s treatment, among them the following:

- Warts and all, socialism has emerged throughout the world in a rich diversity of practice, experimentation, philosophy and ethics, while capitalism is becoming increasingly inflexible, especially under the impact of global "Americanization."

- Socialism is the secular inheritor of the Christian ethic (and that of other religions) aspiring toward equalitarianism in a society of people serving one another, while capitalism (as *Time* reports its leading intellects concede) offers little more than acquisitive materialism and the cash nexus. (The bourgeois Christians have become the "godless materialists.")

In power for only a few years or decades, socialism has manifestly not fulfilled its promise of equality. But capitalism, in power for generations or centuries, has renounced the promise altogether.

Time's report is significant also for what it glosses over. It cites the statist qualities of early socialism, but neglects the statism of early capitalism, e.g., in Britain, Germany and Japan, and of mature capitalism everywhere from the U.S. to South Africa, the Philippines and Chile.

It also avoids the fact that only among socialist thinkers is there to be found a serious search for a non-statist path to a society that resolves the conflicting claims of development, liberty, and equality.

Time bluntly repeats the accepted capitalist wisdom that equality cannot be squared with liberty. That is the "prophecies and Moses" of capitalism.

Time's cover shows the word Socialism

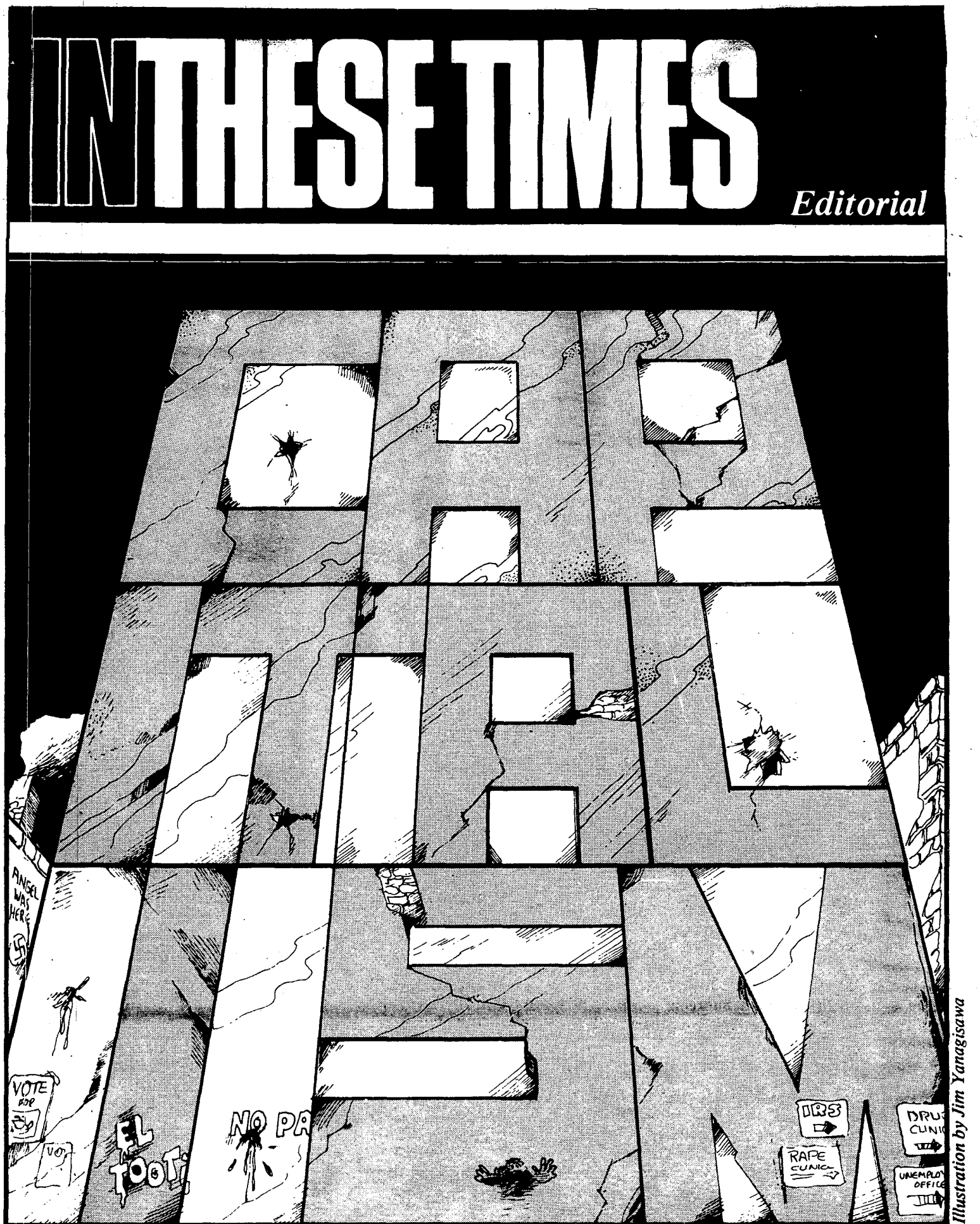


Illustration by Jim Yanagisawa

in a way that suggests people learning through trial and error, assembling and re-assembling the building blocks of a childhood journey to greater knowledge and proficiency. There are disarray and broken blocks, but there are also hope and challenge and creative possibility.

A Capitalism cover might resemble ruins going to seed, overrun by weeds of inflation, unemployment, cynicism and exhausted possibilities beyond the repair of all the king's wizards and their technological magic.

One significant omission in *Time*'s re-

port more nearly reflects than evades the reality: No prominent American socialist appears among the photographs of socialist leaders or is mentioned in the text. If *Time* can put socialism on its cover, is it not time for us socialists to put socialism on the American political map? ■

The miners' challenge to business as usual

The Carter administration, the corporate mine owners and the media—as usual—are determined to confine to the narrowest ground the attention finally being paid to the miners' grievances. They are carefully avoiding public debate over whether business as usual is consistent with workers' human rights and a sound energy system.

But the miners' strike has nevertheless forced basic questions to the surface. An aroused public awareness of coal industry conditions makes this a good time to raise the kinds of questions the Carter administration and the corporations would prefer not to discuss.

First, the strike illustrates how the national labor law embodies a class bias in favor of capital against labor.

The labor law reform bill now before Congress seeks to redress the balance in the sphere of labor organizing, but other changes are in order. For example, to strengthen management's incentive to place a higher value on workers' needs, the law should require that corporate executives (not only the workers) lose salary and benefit payments during a strike. Also, under Taft-Hartley, workers are

forbidden to engage in secondary boycotts to aid other workers on strike. But corporations are not forbidden (as they are in other industrial countries) to engage in secondary lay-offs, as some steel companies did and as others have threatened to do. The law leaves capitalists but not workers free to engage in such acts of class solidarity.

Similarly, protection of public health and safety is the ostensible justification for invoking Taft-Hartley to force striking miners back to work. But the same reasoning supports enjoining capital strikes (corporate withdrawal of capital that reduces jobs or closes plants). A capital strike, or the threat of one, is a potent weapon against workers' efforts for better conditions. And it places the public health and safety in no less jeopardy than a labor strike.

A second basic question is whether the public interest is best served by the private ownership of energy resources. A steady, reliable supply of coal requires a healthy and safe work force, which corporate ownership—unprodged by bitter, protracted strikes—has never been willing to provide, the less so now that many of the mines

have come under conglomerate ownership.

Many miners have expressed less fear of "working for the government" than for the companies. Working for a government subservient to corporate interests, however, may not be the best alternative. But the miners' attitude raises the question of public ownership and control, and points the way to sharpening debate on the issue. A federated system of miner-community owned mines under congressional charter with a parallel federated public banking network, would be an effective alternative to the existing corporate regime. It could also be applied to ownership of other energy resources. It would make the workers' well-being, instead of private profit grabbing the priority basis of production for public need, and in so doing be the best guarantee of reliable supply at reasonable prices.

Third, in demanding full health care and adequate pensions, the miners are standing up for what ought to be every American's birthright. Until full health care and adequate pensions are accorded all Americans the miners are right in seeking to provide for them through the price

of coal. But in so doing they help all the rest of us to see that it would make more sense, and yield lower-cost coal, to spread the financing over the entire economy through a comprehensive public health care system and a universal public pension system in place of the existing inadequate hodge-podge of social security and private insurance. Universal public health and pension systems would make it unnecessary for miners (or other workers) to strike for such elementary human rights, and would cheapen the price of coal (and other goods). It would be one less obstacle to steady production and dependable supply.

None of this is to say that the immediate issues in the miners' strike are "less important" than the broader issues involved. It is rather to acknowledge the debt owed the miners for helping us, with their courage and militancy, to see more clearly some of the deeper questions currently facing American society, in addition to the debt owed the miners for the crucial role they played in past times in helping millions of other workers to organize for better conditions and a fuller human dignity. ■

Letters

ITT around the world

I'VE JUST COME BACK FROM Mexico where we (a group from University of Colorado) spent several hours at the Camp of 2 October (ITT, Dec. 14, 1977). In a camp meeting, the leader, Pancho de la Cruz, held up a reprint of the ITT article, and stressed again and again the need for international press coverage of what is happening in Mexico, including the Camp of the Siege of Oaxaca.

—Philip Gordon
Boulder, Colo.

Muzzling authors

I HAVE FOUND YOUR COVERAGE of the drugging of mental patients in hospitals enlightening, if frightening. As a psychotherapist, I am opposed to drugging mentally ill or retarded patients unless absolutely necessary. I have been very much impressed by the book, *In Search of a Response* by Leida Berg and Harold Steinberg, in which they show how it is possible to work with patients diagnosed as schizophrenic, without using drugs.

The book itself involves transcripts of sessions with two patients (husband and wife). The authors carefully edited the book in order to hide the identities of the patients. The identity of the wife was only revealed when she brought suit against the authors for invasion of privacy and, previous to this, when she attempted to use the book to invalidate her deceased husband's will. (She later dropped the suit.)

The decision of the N.Y. Supreme Court in November 1977 was that the authors pay the wife \$20,000, destroy the book, do not discuss the case and that the contents of the trial be "sealed." The opposition of professional associations to the book probably contributed to this decision.

The muzzling of these authors and the attempted destruction of their work involves a violation of the freedom of direct speech, of printed speech and, unfortunately, possibly a portent of what we, as Americans, can anticipate, if such a case is not made widely known, and protested.

—Leonette Vanderhorst
New York, N.Y.

Vitriolic?

THERE IS MUCH ROOM FOR DISAGREEMENT—especially on so momentous a question as a strategy for a socialist movement in the U.S.—but the distortions and personal vitriol to be found in Sid Lens' "Perspectives" piece (ITT, March 1) should have no place in ITT. I do not here wish to argue the merits or weaknesses of Economic Democracy vs. Socialism as a shibboleth. I do think it is important to comment on the tone of Lens' piece, which is neither socialist nor humanist.

At the outset, Lens dismisses our most populous state as some sort of looney-land "where panaceas bloom like dandelions," thereby subtly equating Derek Shearer's concept of Economic Democracy with the multitude of crackpot notions that the media love to associate with California. The people who live in California have no monopoly on either sense or nonsense, as Lens knows—but he makes use of media hypes for his own purposes.

Lens then begins a systematic distortion of Shearer's (and Tom Hayden's) position, symbolized by his misquote of Hayden's campaign slogan: for "The radicalism of the '60s is the common sense of the '70s" (Hayden), Lens quotes "The radicalism of the '60s must be re-

placed by the common sense of the '70s." (My emphasis.) There is a vast difference between these two formulations, but Lens must misquote Hayden in order to "prove" that Hayden is a "cop-out" or worse, traveling the perfidious road of Bayard Rustin.

Rustin, we should remember, forsook his pacifist origins to become a Vietnam war and cold war apologist, associating himself with the most retrograde segments of the labor movement. Is this the inevitable fate of all who disagree with Sid Lens? Is this what Hayden and Shearer are doing in California? Again, Lens knows better but chooses to accuse them of crass, opportunistic, unprincipled betrayal of the socialist vision—on no evidence other than what might be in Lens' heart and mind.

For the sake of a developing left in America, for the sake of keeping ITT a truly open forum for that movement, for the sake of socialism and humanism, can't we leave this kind of polemic behind us? Please?

—Mickey Flacks
Santa Barbara, Calif.

The Nazi menace

IN LIGHT OF RECENT DECISIONS in the St. Louis and Skokie, Illinois courts sanctioning Nazi demonstrations, the problem of combatting the Nazi threat arises.

The danger from the Nazi resurgence cannot be overstated. As with their predecessors of Pre-World War II Germany, the Nazis of today have accused Jews, blacks, and other minorities of many of the world's problems. If Nazis had the opportunity, by acquiring political influence for example, the brutal consequences against minorities would certainly be predictable. Although the possibility of Nazis acquiring broad political power is remote, the possibility of their acquiring limited political influence concentrated in a small area is far from remote.

We must block them now from spreading their dangerous propaganda by the most effective means possible. If all legal and peaceful channels are exhausted, force should be considered a viable alternative. Just as the Communists were justified in fighting Nazis in the early '30s, so too the serious danger from the Nazis today warrants violent counter-measures under certain circumstances. For example, the threat of force was successful against Nazi demonstrators in St. Louis on March 11. In order to avoid a confrontation with a group called the Black and White Defense Committee, Nazi demonstrators cancelled their planned rally.

If Nazi influence cannot be checked by peaceful means alone, then violent attacks or threats of attack may be the only avenue open, before we again mourn their victims.

—Dan Rothbart
St. Louis, Mo.

Mixed toilets

I CAN'T UNDERSTAND WHY SOME people believe that ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution means that their darling wives and precious daughters will have to go to the toilet with 250-pound drunks!

Nor why these same people are making such an issue of sparing their daughters the horrors of war when we have just buried 55,000 of their sons who they let their government send to Vietnam.

But what really burns me is Phyllis Schaffly telling American working women that they don't really have to go out and earn a living, just land some rich businessman to give them a \$100,000 home to live in, like she did.

This whole thing is ridiculous but there is one group among the opponents of the ERA who have a legitimate gripe: the businessmen. They know damn well they're going to have to cough up big bucks to equalize salaries and this has them on the verge of hysteria!

Ratification of the ERA will be a significant step toward the liberation of the American people from corporate capitalism, a system that perpetuates itself by turning everyone into a dependent producer-consumer. This is a just cause that deserves our total support: women's rights to self-determination.

—Art Liebrez
Annandale, Va.

What every auto worker knows

AL NASH (ITT, MAR. 8) SAYS your review of *Blue Collar* was off base. He says he was a former steward at "the" Detroit Chrysler plant (which one, he doesn't say. There are a dozen or more).

If Nash was once a steward, it must have been a long time ago because *Blue Collar* presents a fairly accurate picture. (Maybe he's one of those who is always telling you about what they did 30 years ago, just like *Blue Collar* laid out.)

Sure, it's true that stewards earn the same pay they made before election. But they get all the overtime there is! It's one of the ways that the company scratches the union's back.

I'd be surprised if any steward made less than \$17,000 in the UAW last year since my husband made close to \$16,000 working as little overtime as possible.

Every auto worker knows that stewards go in every day they possibly can, sleep in the committee room, and if you call them you're lucky if they show up the same day.

My neighbor is an alternate committeeman at a Chrysler plant. For a long time, he was working every Sunday. He'd go in in the morning, punch in, come home a couple hours later, do the grocery shopping, and be back at work to punch out. Then he'd come over and brag about it.

Also, stewards are not easily recallable. Every auto worker understands Zeke's frustration about not getting his locker fixed. Most live with plenty of small problems like this. It's very difficult to build the kind of shop floor organization you need to actually make the stewards responsive to the membership.

Once, when I was working in an auto plant, I asked my steward to write a grievance. He kept assuring me he would. He promised and promised. Several weeks later, I asked him about it, and he said, "I'm not going to write that grievance."

One thing Nash said is true. If any

foreman went around asking workers if they "picked cotton that slow" he'd be taking his life in his hands.

Sure we need our unions. But we need to rebuild them, too. The real scandal in the "AAW" was not that the union local made unsavory loans, but that they took dues money without giving any representation.

Every audience that sees this movie in Detroit cheers, because *Blue Collar* tells it like it is.

Elissa Clarke
Detroit, Mich.

Double correction

In our Feb. 22 issue we printed a column by Edith Taylor, a national coordinator of Women Strike for Peace, on SALT. Taylor argued in it that the talks and treaties created a framework in which the arms race has flourished. The article was printed as if this were the only WSP view. It was not, as we soon discovered.

Last week (March 15) we printed another WSP view by Edith Villastrigo, National Legislative Coordinator of WSP. It was also printed without comment, and some people may have concluded that this was the official WSP position. It also is not.

Both pieces were the views of their authors. Our purpose in printing them was to air various points of view about SALT. We regret any other implication caused by the manner of publication.

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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Circulation Report

Weekly subscription and income figures for the ten weeks from Jan. 6 through March 10.

The following figures show an increase in our average weekly total of subscriptions (new subs plus renewals) from the previous 12 week period from 308 to 428, but a drop in our average weekly income of \$46. The reason for this is that income from direct mail subscriptions is not included because we now have a revolving promotion fund that is kept separate from our operating income into which direct mail revenues go.

The result is that we have a faster circulation growth but a growing operating deficit. That means we must increase our efforts to raise money and encourage our readers to help us increase our spontaneous subscriptions. At present, we still have debts of some \$35,000, and we are running a weekly deficit of \$1,500 to \$2,000. In order for *In These Times* to continue improving, we must quickly raise enough money to pay off our debts, mostly to non-staff writers and artists, and to pay for expanded coverage of news.

Week (ending)	New Subs	Direct Mail Subs	Renewals	Total Subs	Money/wk
1/6	102	16	256	374	\$5,400.35
1/13	136	20	194	350	4,935.33
1/20	111	11	136	258	3,537.54
1/26	98	16	124	238	2,954.17
2/3	101	10	366	477	7,361.01
2/10	79	17	217	313	4,790.33
2/17	71	258	137	466	3,565.54
2/24	68	590	104	762	2,615.68
3/3	46	366	189	601	4,096.41
3/10	79	196	165	440	4,362.77
Totals	891	1,500	1,888	4,279	\$4,362.91
Weekly Averages	89	150	189	428	\$4,362

Paul Booth

Sectional rivalries affect a wide range of issues

Regionalism is becoming a dominant consideration in a wide range of national issues, after having been subdued for 15 years. Lobbies organized to represent the Snowbelt against the ascendant Sunbelt are examining the hundreds of grant-in-aid formula programs for their geographical impact. Environmental policies such as water projects are looked at in the same way. As a new way of demanding a fair shake for areas on the short end this approach has a certain attractiveness; but it needs a careful analysis to see exactly what a left programmatic response should be.

Even tax reform is being seen in a regional light. Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D-Chicago) has come out against Carter's plan to extend investment tax credits from new equipment to new plant construction. His reason is not that the credit is a business ripoff, but that the ripping-off would benefit greenfield construction to the detriment of refurbishing older plants in Chicago.

Income redistribution is thus a big issue today. It is not a struggle between rich and poor, however, but between city and suburb, north and south, New York and Houston. Even welfare reform will undoubtedly be debated as if it were a regional struggle.

The left's sympathies are quite legitimately aroused by the plight of New York City. As Victor Gotbaum of AFSCME points out, New York has been punished because it was more decent to its poor—it had free tuition city colleges, a chain of public hospitals, day care centers, ADC payments higher than elsewhere. But sympathy for New York may not be appropriate to all sectional disputes.

The best advertised rallying cry of the Snowbelt coalition is the complaint that the Northeast gets back many billions less in federal monies than it pays in taxes. This sounds like an injustice, and it does indeed reflect some unjust grant-in-aid formulas. But there is a lot more to it.

Welfare redistributes taxes geographically, to be sure. This is partly because higher-income states pay half the costs under the terms of the Social Security Act, while low income states pay only 28 percent. This redistributes income to states where poverty is more pervasive. Carter's welfare reform would increase the geographical disparity and help the poorer states.

The best and worst features of Carter's proposal relate to union wages. Welfare is like the minimum wage law: if the rates go up in rural states, the competitive

pressure that the boss can bring to bear against organized labor's wage demands is reduced. Labor's struggle against the low wages of runaway manufacturers is as bitter and difficult as the struggle to organize industry was in the first place—just look at the 14-month strike against Iowa Beef Processors or the J.P. Stevens crusade. Raising the amount in welfare checks in rural states is both desirable in its own terms and for its secondary impact on wages.

But Carter's "reform" threatens public employee standards through another provision that is a mirror image of its standardization of benefits. It would supplant the Public Service Employment program, which pays 750,000 participants at the prevailing scale for their work, with 1,400,000 minimum wage public jobs for welfare recipients. This direct attack on existing union wages and standards would overtly exploit welfare recipients by forcing them to do the same work for less pay. Labor was justified in raising the banner of sectionalism in its thus far successful effort to defeat the minimum wage provision in congressional committee, notwithstanding the benefits of the rest of the bill.

The U.S. constitution gives us sov-

eign states, and a House of Representatives who look out for the interest of 435 districts. Whatever domestic objectives we may have—be it clean water, the union shop, higher income for the poor, reversing urban decay, or full employment—we have to see how it looks through the prism of sectional rivalry, because sectionalism impacts on everything.

There is a danger of opportunism in tailing the Snowbelt mayors and governors. The opportunity, however, is to use heightened sectional consciousness for our agenda. For decades, a declining social stratum in the Old South used the federal system, and the seniority system in Congress to the hilt, and ended up with advantages in the location of defense installations, farm subsidy programs, river-widening and harbor-deepening. Having chairmen of most of the committees of Congress didn't hurt.

Before long, big-city Democrats, many of them black, will be chairing these committees (if blind liberalism doesn't reform all the rules of the game just when they were about to become useful). My next column will examine how sectional rivalry relates to the urban crisis.

Paul Booth is assistant to the director of Council 31 AFSCME.

If you are not careful you can get into some very serious trouble." And "I think one of the most effective ways is that they elect me as mayor. After they elect me, they ought to let me run the city for four years and then if they don't like it, they can get somebody else."

But why do we need incentives to attract the middle class? This strategy may have made sense when gasoline was 32¢ per gallon and there was an abundance of inexpensive vacant suburban land nearby. Now, however, with gasoline at 70¢ per gallon and a predicted energy crisis and a lack of vacant land within reasonable commuting distance, the middle class will move into the city. Thus the incentives listed above are blatant giveaways to the corporate developers.

An alternative strategy for cities (like Newark) would be to revitalize for the benefit of the present residents.

The process would begin with participation at the grass roots level to define needs and then recognize the satisfaction of these needs as the guiding principle for redeveloping the cities.

Our experience is that the real needs are more jobs, expanded social services, more decent low cost housing, better economic and educational opportunities, freedom from arson and crime, and a more stable community life. Unfortunately, people's needs contradict the quest for profits. The money that is available is not spent to satisfy the needs of the people of Newark.

Your article glorifies a horrible process of attracting middle class people to provide a bonus for working class poor people. Unfortunately, to attract the middle class, working class poor people must first be removed. (This is reminiscent of Vietnam era logic: In order to save the city, we had to destroy it.)

—Woody Widrow
former organizer for
Newark Tenants Organization
—Richard Baretto
organizing parent
Ironbound Community School
—Dorris Norton
parent
Ironbound Community School
—Bob Cartwright
Ironbound Community Corp.
—Arnold Cohen
Ironbound Health Project
—Nancy Zak
Newark Community Coalition

DIALOG

Black or white, a business mayor is a business mayor

We are writing in reference to an article (ITT, Feb. 1) entitled "Newark Struggling to Rebuild."

Ten years ago many progressive people, both black and white, viewed the election of a black mayor as a step forward for social change. But Kenneth Gibson's term in office as mayor of Newark, N.J., has resulted in the emasculation of citizen participation, cutbacks in social services and forced removal of poor and working class people from their homes. In a predominantly black city, this black administration strengthens the government's legitimacy (ability to hold people's allegiance in spite of not meeting people's needs) just by being black, though this is certainly not an argument for white rule.

Mayor Gibson's plan for Newark is strikingly similar to "master plans" in other urban areas—Chicago's "21 Plan," Detroit's "Renaissance City Plan" and New Brunswick's "Tomorrow." According to these plans, city government's main task is to attract back the professional and managerial middle class in order to "revitalize the cities."

The rationale is that the middle class is necessary to lower the tax rate by (1) increasing property values and (2) decreasing social service expenditures (which are usually needed more by working class and poor people). Once the tax rate is lowered, the argument goes, new investment will add ratables to the tax rolls. The city will then be again viable—meaning that the tax rate will stabilize and social service expenditures will meet social service needs.

Looking at the actual process of redevelopment, inconsistencies are evident.



The point is that cities like Newark should be revitalized for the benefit of the people who now live there—not for suburbanites.

Certain areas are designated for redevelopment. Federal, state and local money is poured in through government grants to improve street lighting and traffic patterns, provide low interest loans and tax abatements, improve police protection and education.

Unfortunately, before an area is designated for redevelopment it must be made uninhabitable. (This assumes that the working class poor will have the "decency" to move. After all, you don't want to demolish an inhabited building or pay unnecessary relocation benefits.)

The process begins by a withdrawal of city services, planned neglect of code

enforcement, arson by landlords for insurance benefits and redlining. The occupants are expected to allow this without active resistance. The government's job is to assure acquiescence through co-optation of leaders, setting up counter-organizations for media consumption, sending city "community relations" experts (former militants) to disrupt grass roots meetings, etc.

Mayor Gibson's description of good citizen participation was outlined at a recent Washington conference. Among his more arrogant and anti-democratic remarks were the following: "Citizen participation is a bugaboo these days...

PERSPECTIVES

FOR A NEW AMERICA

Let's cross that 't' when we come to it

By Martin Chancey

I wish to comment on your ongoing discussion on the state of the left and its prospects and, in particular, on Roberta Lynch's column (*ITT*, Feb. 24). After describing the sorry state of the left, she remains optimistic about prospects for its revival. These prospects, she wrote, are "shaped fundamentally by popular insurgency"—a revival of people's movements—labor, minorities, women.

But history tells us that this does not follow automatically. Although the Communist party grew rapidly with the surging movements of the 1930s (as did the Socialist party in an earlier period), the upheavals of the 1960s did not result in socialist growth. Nor has the current rise in grassroots citizen action, consumer, environment and other movements, or the growing ferment among workers arrested the continuing decline of the socialist left.

I suggest that the earlier growth of the SP and CP was made possible by their success in uniting the radicals of their day in the struggles of labor and the people's movements. To the extent that today's socialists fail to do so, they remain isolated and sterile.

While Lynch makes brief mention of the need for socialists to participate in these movements, she proceeds to devote the rest of her column to the dividing line that separates her group from others. This stress on what divides rather than what unites the left may seem strange coming from a leader of NAM, the least parochial of left tendencies. It nevertheless points up the widespread practice of each group to magnify the differences while ignoring what is infinitely more important: what they all have in common.

As this senseless war rages on, divisions

harden, communication ceases, and the national strength and visibility of the socialist left sinks so low that a journal like *Harper's* (Step. 1977) is moved to ask nostalgically, "Whatever happened to the left? Does it matter?"

This exaggerated emphasis on differences, and insistence on resolving theoretical disputes first, has had a devastating effect on practical activity. Polemics on the priority of theory over practice, typical of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist groups, advance slogans such as, "Theoretical struggle is the main form of struggle for this period," or the statement of Irwin Silber, *Guardian* editor, that "Ideological unity is the absolute precondition for unity of action." Mass activity would be postponed until the perfect line is worked out through interminable debate, which leads only to further splintering and utter isolation.

These views are alien to Marxism. Surely those who quote Mao so profusely should know that he believed that "practice is higher than theoretical knowledge; theory is a generalization of practice and follows it; social practice alone is the test of theory and the criterion of truth." (Mao Tse-Tung, *On Practice*.)

Reversing course.

Recent experience here and abroad has underlined the need to reverse course, to subordinate differences, and center on what all socialists hold in common: to unite labor and all people against the crushing menace of corporate power, to cope with the multiple domestic crises and the overshadowing threat of nuclear annihilation. Once we begin to center on cooperation around issues that unite, many other questions will fall into place.

For proof that this approach works, we need only look at recent experiences here and abroad. Is it a coincidence that

the only socialist group in the U.S. to show any significant growth has been the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), which has of late been playing down its anti-communism and has been appealing to all socialists to join in the struggle for jobs? This approach made possible the Democratic Agenda Conference in Washington last November, with 1,400 participants from unions, minorities and most left groups.

The need for "maximizing unity and minimizing differences" was voiced by many of the 1,000 participants at the third annual California Conference on Alternative Public Policy Feb. 17. Said John Henning, head of the state AFL-CIO: "Our only alternative is a coalition between labor and other progressive movements." Rep. Ron Dellums spoke of his "coalition politics" for the 1980s, while Tom Hayden and others dealt with broad anti-monopoly strategy. Although the conference was devoted to "working within the system" references to a socialist vision got a big hand. Socialist presence was marked by NAM's Dorothy Healey among the main speakers and activists from the Communist party and other left groups.

American leftists have much to learn from events abroad. Of particular interest was the world conference on "Socialism in the Present Day World; Main Tendencies at Work Today." As reported by David Plotke in *Socialist Review* (No. 35/1977), 60 representatives from socialist and communist parties and other left groups and publications from East and West Europe and other parts of the world gathered at Cavtat, Yugoslavia, to report on their experiences and perspectives. Although their organizations operated under widely differing conditions, common to delegates' reports was the emphasis on the fluidity, change, and renewal characteristics within their organizations; the new possibilities for discussions among formerly estranged groups; new kinds of alliances that are now possible; and the process of theoretical rethinking now underway the world over.

The speed of these changes is evident by developments in Western Europe. In the late 1960s, the French Communist party was still regarded as one of the most Stalinist, and was barely on speaking terms with the French Socialist party. Yet by 1972, Marchais and Mitterand

signed the "common program," committing their parties to a new era of cooperative relations.

These significant changes are not confined to socialist movements abroad. If those who stress the rigidity, the frozen relations, the unchangeable differences, will only take a closer look, they will find a learning process now taking place throughout the U.S., a beginning of change and fluidity, an effort to draw lessons from experiences abroad.

Of course, while we can draw much inspiration from events abroad, they do not provide us with a model. Events are far different here; in searching for effective, workable forms of cooperation, we need to take into account present-day reality in the left: 1) the existence of many independent tendencies and groupings, each with its own concept of Marxism that it is not about to abandon at the dictates of others; 2) most groups are weak, and are unable to undertake by themselves actions on a scale that would command national attention; 3) groups are uneven in composition; some are all white, white collar, highly educated and energetic youth, lacking experience and contact with industrial workers and minorities; others consist of older, experienced workers who lack the youthful vigor and educational tools of the others.

Cooperation among left groups is presently rudimentary, limited to a few issues and occasions, and to a few groups such as DSOC, NAM, and CED. It is significant that on the few occasions where broader actions were undertaken with participation of organized labor and minorities, leftists of most tendencies took part, including some whose motto is "No unity with revisionists!"

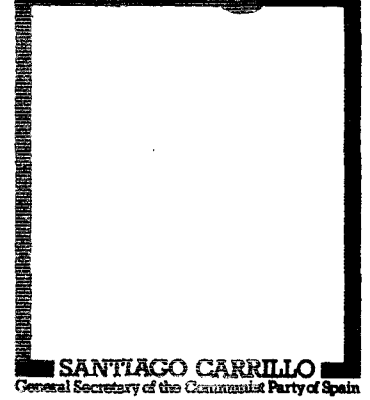
If cooperation around vital issues is broadened and regularized, it will initiate a process leading to the unfreezing of hard lines, reestablish communications, build mutual trust, enable groups to complement each other's strengths. It will encourage the undertaking of actions on a larger scale, which will restore the national visibility of the left.

As for the large number of political inactivists Lynch criticizes for sitting on the sidelines complaining about what is wrong with the movement (the *L.A. Times* estimates their number at two million), they will not become involved by being scolded. They will join only when they see the left come to its senses, stop squabbling, and begin to move in a united way on issues vital to America.

As the American socialist movement accumulates more experience and becomes more mature politically, it will be in a far better position to consider the various forms of transition to socialism and whether the leadership for change should be exercised by a single party or a plurality of socialist organizations, or some other form.

—Martin Chancey
San Diego, Calif.

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J.P.'S DAY'S COMING



A transforming spirit

Continued from page 6.

will continue to keep you down until you realize there's only one enemy and that's a common enemy."

Now, both white and black workers talk quite openly about the problem of race, and of how they have overcome it. There seem to be many interracial friendships, and the workers say a brief flurry of Klan activity several months ago served only to consolidate interracial solidarity.

"The attitude of the worker out there since the union has come in has been remarkable," says Mary Robinson, who has worked in the mill on and off for ten years. "The people has really gotten together over it. Everyone feels like they're for the same thing so color doesn't have anything to do with it. Basically, all the whites think that if you're qualified for a job, you should be able to have that job."

And Willie Woods adds, "In most jobs when you try to organize, race is one of the main issues. I think the people at West Boylston plant, they've seen through this stuff. When you tell 'em that, they look the other way. We here together, we work together, and we're going to try and make it together."

If working together to build a strong union has helped blacks and whites overcome traditional hostilities, it has also had a powerful impact on traditional sex roles as well. In Montgomery women have emerged as the dominant leaders and personalities and seem to have won the acceptance of the men. Of the 176 members on the organizing committee, 115 are women.

One cannot help being impressed and inspired by the achievements of Mann and the J.P. Stevens workers in Montgomery. The consumer boycott of Stevens products is important, if only because

labor struggles in this country have infrequently won public support in recent years. But what is happening in Montgomery, and in many other places like it throughout the South, indicates that in the long run, more important strides are being taken by the workers themselves.

The experience of an entire new generation of union members is being shaped by bitter struggle and militant rhetoric, both reminiscent of the CIO drives of the '30s. The entrance into the labor movement of these young workers may provide a constituency to support major changes in the outlook of the American trade union movement.

"To win something permanent here the worker is going to have to go through more than any other union person is going to have to go through," says Mann. "We're here to break up the textile manufacturers' domination of Southern society. The only way you can break that is to stick together and you got to teach these people how they can do it."

Mann adds, "You fight here every day—it's a continuous fight. The people that go through this type of campaign are the kind of people that have been taught that you never get onto another union member—management is your enemy. They've been taught that you fight for every damn nickel you can get. I believe they will change the union."

Emma Lee is a free-lance writer in the South.

Stockholder meet

Continued from page 7.

tion." Angered Roanoke Rapids workers, who voted for the union in August and have never found the company willing to discuss a contract, raced for the microphones. Statesboro workers, whose election was given to the union because of the company's massive vote-tampering and then saw the company close down the plant, shouted out their response. North Carolina AFL-CIO president Wilbur Hobby shot back that he would be glad to have an election, if only the workers would be free from company intimidation. Finley moved on. "We have a difference of opinion and I do not intend to debate the issue here."

The anger of the crowd grew steadily. A regular flow of people testified, describing the "filthy canteen tables at Republic Plant #3," the choking cotton dust at many plants, the large standing pools of water around electrical equipment, the low pay and pension plan, and forced overtime cleaning up plants before scheduled inspections. One woman mentioned the ice that sometimes gathers on the

weaving room's air ducts and drops into machines, breaking them. "Who's to pay for that? I'm a weaver, so I do."

Eventually Finley himself began to suggest that the national campaign against Stevens was having its effect. When asked why the company still had neither women nor blacks on its Board of Directors, Finley responded, "Two women have turned down a spot on the Board as long as we have these activists working on our company."

The boycott is having an effect.

One resolution asked that the company report "on the impact of the Company's labor-management policies on the economic performance of the company's stock." A shareowner pointed out that the stock had fallen drastically after court orders opened the door to large fines in the future. He reported that Finley had been judged one of the ten worst chief executives for 1977 by a trade newspaper, and that another reported the Stevens "management is not very competent." While other leading textile companies increased the value of their stock in 1977, or saw it decrease only slightly, Stevens' stock price fell to 13 percent below its 1976 low price. "Stevens," said the stockholder, "is the rotten apple in the barrel of the textile industry."

The company's own records seem to confirm these charges. According to the company's annual report, gross profits on sales were down in 1977, expenses were up, net income was down and the long-term debt was considerably increased. The company is clearly feeling the effect of a

national boycott on their products—distributed under the Stevens label and those of Utica and Mohawk sheets and Fine Arts and Tastemaker towels, among many others—coupled with an extensive union organizing campaign and a battle to clean up their plants, led by the Carolina Brown Lung Association.

A sense of urgency filled the meeting that kept anyone from feeling satisfied that Stevens would eventually surrender and improve working conditions. The urgency was found in the stories recounted at the meeting—of 60 separate OSHA violations, for instance, found during one inspection at the Roanoke Rapids facilities. The urgency was also found in the tour of the "model" Estes plant, where blobs of cotton dust flew through the air, covered the hair and clothes of the workers and built up on their machines.

Some former Stevens workers said they would have liked to have toured the plant, but were unable to do so. One woman said she can't go near a plant now without having a coughing fit. Even a clean "model" plant. She said she can't go into a fabric store. "I can smell the dust, I can feel it," she said. "And I can't breathe."

And outside Textile Hall, the women in their sweatshirts, the women who had left work without pay that day to defend the company that pays some of them less than \$4.00 after ten years work, waved placards and smiled at the stockholders leaving the meeting. "I Want to Work," read one sign. They had been standing for five hours.

Steve Hoffius is a bookseller in Charleston, S.C.

Third contract

Continued from page 3.

contract may go through, but Bill Lamb, a leader in Ohio District 6, said, "I think it's going to have tough sledding. You don't go backwards." The retreat from free health benefits was a major reason for rejecting the last offer.

The Carter administration continues to threaten to cut off food stamps to coal miners starting in April if the strike continues, even though the plan was blasted by AFL-CIO president George Meany and could be challenged and stalled in courts.

Both union leaders and industry representatives seem determined to resist Carter's threats to encourage regional or company-by-company bargaining, which would break up the collective bargaining structure in existence since the 1950s. A union spokesperson commented, "The whole BCOA was as opposed to it [fragmented bargaining] as we were. Everybody can look back and see the chaos of the coalfields of the '20s with competitive wage rates and competitive pricing." And an industry source said that the BCOA wanted an industry-wide contract for "stability." "It's better than fracturing and allows for a strong union, which we think in the long term is better for us."

Business spokesmen have had particularly harsh words for "weak" Arnold Miller, who is seen as not having control over the members—indicating the low value placed on union democracy by corporate leaders and the expectations developed with tough, dictatorial leaders like John L. Lewis and Tony Boyle. From a much different perspective, many miners have seen Miller as weak because of the concessions he made to a hard-nosed BCOA negotiating team, which thought it could take advantage of Miller. A "Miners for Recall" group has collected 18,000 signatures, more than required if all are validated, on a petition for a recall election.

Miners have stayed solid in their refusal to obey the Taft-Hartley order, although a few non-union mines have opened up. For example, an Armco local that had voted for the last contract convened again after the Taft-Hartley restraining order was issued and voted unanimously not to return to work. During three days last week, out of 65,000 miners in West Virginia, the number reporting to work dropped from 33 to six to zero. Such action may force Carter to seize the mines, which most miners pre-

fer to Taft-Hartley, if the contract is rejected.

Should Carter try to press forward with the injunction to break up the industry-wide negotiations, to cut off food stamps and otherwise pressure the miners, but also a broad opposition from organized labor. From the top of labor officialdom down to the grassroots, labor unions seem stirred by the miners' determination and are expressing solidarity far beyond customary bounds. The miners' militancy has also catalyzed some rank and file action in other unions, such as a Detroit-area coalition of dissidents from the UAW, Teamsters and Steelworkers who joined with assorted leftist groups last weekend in a miner support rally. Even if the contract is approved, despite its shortcomings, this winter's coal strike will undoubtedly remain an inspirational symbol to union activists—like the farmworkers, the Lordstown auto workers or the Sadlowski campaign in recent years. ■

Old saw

Continued from page 24.

rassed, like they didn't know what to ask next. 'Well, you going to take me off and throw me in the can now?' I asked them. 'Oh no,' they say, 'it's not illegal to be a communist.' 'Then why the hell are you wasting your time and my tax money coming around here?' I asked."

Tom moved to San Diego in 1976 after his wife died. But the friends he made during his ten years in Santa Cruz have not forgotten him.

A group of artists and activists there have proposed erecting a sculpture of Tom in the town's new shopping center, but the city council objects to using public funds to pay tribute to him.

"If we put up a statue to Scribner we should put up another one to a John Bircher," says one of the "moderates" on the council.

"I don't think it'll get built," says Tom, "but a lot of people up there have told me it will, come hell or high water."

"Things like that give you hope. When I was a boy, socialism was just an idea people used to talk about. Now it's a whole system in the world. Hell, some people even say the musical saw is going to make a come-back."

David Helvarg is a writer in San Diego who frequently contributes to IN THESE TIMES.

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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

Records



NO MORE HEROES

The Stranglers
(A&M)

MANIFEST DESTINY

The Dictators
(Asylum)

The new wave has become a firmly established musical trend in both England and the U.S. Razor blades and safety pins are *haute couture* and contemptuous sneers, a trendy social posture. But punk rock music has developed very differently on either side of the Atlantic. Listening to recent releases by a band from each country makes the differences apparent.

The Stranglers are more musically adept than some English groups (like the Sex Pistols), but they too subordinate strict musical competence to a totality of music, politics and social attitude. This subordination makes English punk rock as compelling as it is difficult to listen to. It is frequently unpleasant music—as unpleasant as the circumstances that give rise to it.

The Stranglers' most recent album, *No More Heroes*, is preoccupied with punk's contempt for English society. "Bring on the Nubiles" (perhaps their most controversial song) satirizes the security of the marriage market while unmasking it as a device for sex. In "School Marm" the growling vocals ridicule female teachers whose concern for dull routine barely conceals repressed sexuality.

"Something Better Change" is a punk warning. "Bitching" describes a popular liberal activity, to which Hugh Cornwell sneers, "Why don't you all go get screwed?/Why don't you tell us something new?"

In the last two songs, the message conquers the medium. (Much of the Stranglers' music is simplistic and repetitive rock, built on straightforward rhythms, with only the keyboard work of Dave Greenfield outstanding.) But there are two cuts on the album that achieve a brilliant balance of music and politics. In "Dagen-

American punkers have adopted the English musical form but not their politics

ham Dave" a young punk is driven to drown himself in the Thames to the tune of a bright bouncy solo, reminiscent of the Monkees. The title song wonders where the old heroes have gone (the list includes Trotsky, Lenin, Sancho Panza and some "Shakespeare-oes") and angrily concludes that there are "no heroes any more."

The Stranglers translate the hopelessness of working class youth into angry music. They loathe the British welfare state, which they see as forcing a trade-off of personal meaning for the economic security of life on the dole. Frequently, this vision constrains their musical range. But they can transcend the dichotomy, and when they do, they create powerful rock.

On the other hand...

If English punk bands attempt to create a new synthesis of politics and music, American punk bands have adopted the musical form without the political content. The debut album by the Dictators, *Manifest Destiny*, is an example.

On the surface their posture is similar to that of the British bands. The group's name evidences a fascination with violent authority; the names of the band members, a preoccupation with the perverse. But even a casual listening shows the Dictators concerned with traditional themes of love and heartbreak. (The inner sleeve reprints the lyrics, which are apparently important to the Dictators, even if they are politically impotent.)

What the Dictators lack in political consciousness, they com-

pensate for in musical competence. *Manifest Destiny* is a good rock album.

Some songs, like "Heartaches," are average rockers. "Disease" is a sophomoric tune that combines fear and loathing of the medical profession with a greater fear of the clap. On the other hand, many of their songs are excellent, combining a pumping beat (by Ritchie Teeter, drums; Mark Mendoza, bass; and Top Ten, rhythm guitar), good lead work (Andy Shernoff, keyboards and Ross the Boss, guitar) with classic rock vocals by Handsome Dick Manitoba.

"Exposed" opens the album with its best cut. Shernoff sings as he runs from the law for some apparent sexual mischief, "I don't wanna meet my maker/I gotta get away/I think I'll become a Quaker." "Hey Boys" and "Sleepin' with the TV On" are slower, more melodic cuts that feature light guitar runs and harmonies by Manitoba, Shernoff and Teeter. "Steppin' Out" expresses the desire to be more than "just another crooner"—a very American statement of social aspirations. "Science Goes Too Far" (a satiric tune about late night sci-fi flicks) and "Young, Fast and Scientific" reveal the American preoccupation with technique.

British punk rock springs from a deep-seated rage and despair. Its political vision has been tempered in the economic decline of England. American punk rock finds most of its adherents amid the boredom of suburban shopping malls. Like so much American music, it is apolitical. British punk rock loathes bourgeois conventions; American punk rock celebrates them in songs about romantic love and individual social mobility.

Both groups infuse a long-lacking energy into rock. But while the Stranglers are making revolution, the Dictators are content simply to play.

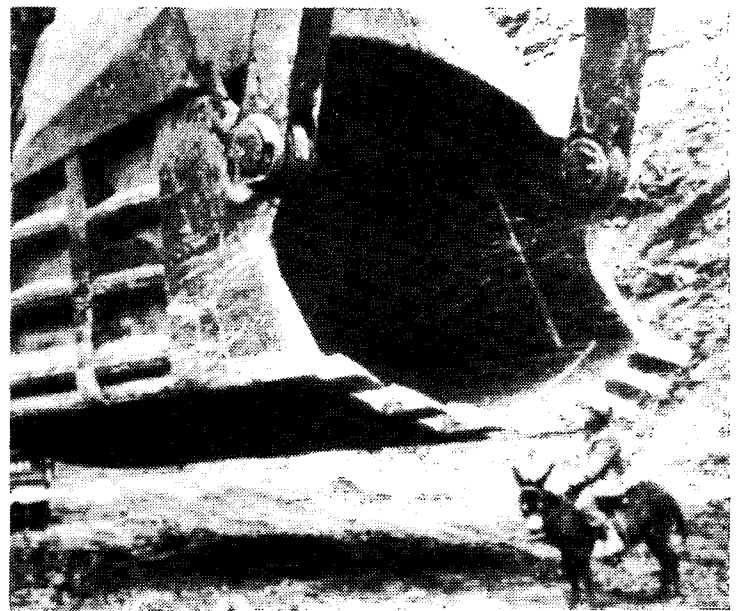
—Michael S. Kimmel
Michael S. Kimmel is a graduate student at Berkeley.

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FILM

Search for something special

A SPECIAL DAY

Story by Ruggero Maccari,
Ettore Scola, and Maurizio
Costanzo
Directed by Ettore Scola
Produced by Carlo Ponti

On the day when Hitler traveled to Rome to pay his respects to Mussolini, the citizenry decked out in its best black shirts and swastikas, turned out en masse to greet him—with a few exceptions.

A *Special Day* is the story of two who stayed home. Sophia Loren is the bedraggled mother of a brood of junior fascists and wife to a puffed-up patriot who wants to call their next offspring Adolf. Marcello Mastroianni is a genteel, unemployed radio announcer who lives across the courtyard in their apartment complex. Brought together by chance when Sophia's pet mynah bird escapes and lands on his window ledge, they are reluctant to let it go at that. They take turns making friendly advances and shy retreats from apartment to apartment, scrutinized by a nosy old landlady who is outside blasting her radio to make sure that anyone who's missing Der Fuhrer in the flesh will at least have him permanently imbedded on their eardrums.

Gradually, the characters unfold; Sophia is a devoted Mussolini fan who keeps a childish scrapbook full of pictures and sayings of Il Duce. She worships him as a teenager would a movie star, parrotting her husband's more politically forceful opinions without the understanding to make them legitimate convictions. Marcello would have been content to hold onto his job and

party card, but the fascist persecution of his homosexuality (hotly denied, to no avail) has left him no other choice but to harbor a retaliatory hatred.

No amount of frumpy house-dresses or sloppily pinned up hair-dos can disguise the fact that Loren is a gorgeous woman, but she overcomes the handicap courageously. Her housewife is a combination of contrived clumsiness (habitually bumping into a hanging lamp or losing a shoe during a rhumba lesson) and unconscious grace (observe her pouring coffee or clearing the table!). Her ignorant veneer hides an untapped intelligence that Marcello tries to dust off with a shopworn copy of *The Three Musketeers*. In the short, skillful sequence where she continues to read while her husband bellows for her to come to bed, it becomes apparent that who and what she is by that time is the result of her tedious marriage, the influence of which has been (and will continue to be) nearly total.

Mastroianni plays the homosexual role with subtlety and humor. To his credit, he relies on none of the stock mannerisms that he might have employed in a part so out of character for him. Together, he and Loren create more than a few moments of genuine charm.

Yet, there is a "but" here, and it has to do with the attitude of the script. Although it's smarter to allow that everyday fascists can be ordinary, likeable people and not all bloodthirsty maniacs (Bertolucci's mistake in *1900*), one can't ignore that it was the implicit, perhaps even unwitting consent of these same nice people that encouraged and bolstered

the real bloodthirsty maniacs.

Perhaps writer-director Scola felt that the constant radio blare of the Hitler-Mussolini festivities in the background while the characters went about their comparatively trivial motions served as reminder enough of the immense evil of fascism and nazism. He sidesteps the larger political questions and focuses on the individual. Fascist, "queer," wife, mother—all the labels are left at the door behind which two people search each other for some little thing that might serve to bind them together, even for an afternoon.

We are left at the end with a hint of some open-ended questions: does Marcello finally realize the disastrous ideological



No amount of frumpy housedresses or sloppily pinned up hairdos can disguise Sophia Loren's beauty.

consequences of fascism, or does he still see his problem primarily as a personal injustice? After Sophia sees the police escorting him off in the middle of the night, will she paste another picture of Il Duce in her scrapbook the next day? The movie says...maybe.

The ambiguity is more annoying than provocative, and finally prevents *A Special Day* from being more of a special film.

—P. Hertel

P. Hertel is a free-lance writer in Chicago who reviews regularly for IN THESE TIMES.

Soggy saga of the sea bottom

GRAY LADY DOWN

Screenplay by James Whittaker and Howard Sackler, from a novel by David LaVallee
Directed by David Greene
Starring Charlton Heston, David Carradine and Stacy Keach
Universal Pictures, Rated PG

Gray Lady Down ranks among the most waterlogged offerings that Hollywood has fished out for us in years. Not panavision, nor technicolor, nor a soundtrack punctuated by tinny drums and martial horns can save this bit of flotsam from its rightful home on the ocean bottom.

Rescue on the continental shelf is the premise; high-powered technology the cure. The navy has it, we know they will get there, and no quantity of undersea ava-

lanches can quicken the thing.

As water seeps in through loose bolts in the hatches, you see the *Gray Lady's* sickly crew grow increasingly edgy. One minute, Seaman Harris is calmly calling on the transmitter for aid. The next, he's jabbering wildly, making faces, kicking, biting and generally flailing about. Just like that. Instant narcosis. Straighten up, Harris.

Charlton Heston delivers a typically humanoid performance as the sub captain whose error at sea has caused the disaster. For some reason he has a beard this time and is wearing a blue uniform in place of his usual khakis. The disguise doesn't help.

Heston is joined in the starring credits by Stacy Keach—sternly masterminding the rescue opera-

tion—and David Carradine, who plays an oddball risk-taker willing to make the supreme sacrifice. Keach is so purse-lipped he barely coughs out a nickel's worth of performance. Carradine, true to *Kung Fu* tradition, delivers his lines like a yogi sleeping on a bed of nails.

Everyone else says "yessir" and "nossir" a lot and wanders around in ketchup and bandages.

Do flickering control boards and men diving on the deck excite you? Do you go weak in the knees for big-screen star shots? Do we really need another disaster flick? *Gray Lady Down* tries to answer these questions and others, but gets bogged down contemplating its naval. —Donald Venes
Donald Venes is a free-lance writer in Chicago.

CLASSIFIED

DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN, author ATTICA 1971-1975, THE GREAT TRADITION IN ENGLISH LITERATURE, editorial board SCIENCE & SOCIETY, JEWISH CURRENTS, is speaking on the West Coast April 19-May 2. Suggested topics: American Theater from Waiting for Lefty to Waiting for Godot; Marriage in the English Novel; Reclaiming Our Stolen Classics; Realistic Ethics in Shakespeare. Groups wishing to arrange lectures please write 59 W. 71 St., NY, NY 10023, or phone (212) 724-3233.

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TEENAGE WOMEN, before you volunteer for the military, be sure you know what happens to those tricked into enlisting. Read "Women: The Recruiter's Last Resort," 75¢ plus 25¢ postage, from RECON, 702 Stanley St., Ypsilanti, MI 48197.

EMMA'S HEALTH CENTER, 1628A W. Belmont, Chicago, is now offering services in self-help clinics, pregnancy testing, abortion and birth control counseling and more by feminist paramedics on Monday evenings 7-10 and Saturday mornings 10:30-12:30. Call 528-4310 or 493-5364.

ROOT AND BRANCH—A quarterly journal from a libertarian/Marxist perspective. \$6 per year to: Root and Branch, Dept. A, P.O. Box 236, Somerville, MA 02143.

ITT BLUEGRASS FANS—Party on the evening of March 31 at 454 So. Ashland Ext., Lexington, KY. Call (606) 266-6076, or just show up. Discussion and refreshments.

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Harry Keiber. Moderator A.B. Magil.
Fri., April 7, 8 pm
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SOUTHERN AFRICA: INTERNATIONAL DEFENSE AND AID FUND FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA has books and info., e.g.: Women Under Apartheid, Soweto, Zimbabwe: The Facts, Poets to the People. Also FOCUS, journal on political repression. Write Box 17, Cambridge, MA 02138.

LEFT FACE—A listing and description of over 40 anarchist, socialist and communist magazines, presses and collectives actively involved in the arts. \$1.50, Smyrna Press, Dept. T, Box 841, Stuyvesant Station, NYC 10009.

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MARCH JEWISH CURRENTS—Special material on Women (for International Women's Day) and Jewish Music Month. Margie Rosenbluth, "Growing Up Female, Jewish and Radical"; Ruth Levin, story, "A Silver Dollar's Worth of Eggs"; Elsie Levitan, "Being a Secular Jew"; Carol Jochowitz, "Inside the Jewish Community"—Editorial, "For Israel: Security or Settlements?" Poems, and other features. Single copy, 60¢. Subscription \$7.50 yearly U.S.A. Jewish Currents, Dept. T, 22 East 17 St., N.Y.C. 10003. For both parts of Schappes' article on Irving Howe's WORLD OF OUR FATHERS in Sept. and Oct. issues, send \$1—Special—just published—A TEN YEAR HARVEST, Third Jewish Currents Reader 1966-1976, 300 pp. paperback \$3.75.

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PERSONALS

CORRESPONDENCE WANTED—I am a prisoner at the James River Correctional Center, State Farm, Va. Arthur Shelton 106334, JRCC Infirmary, State Farm, VA 23160.

O.K. ROBIN, you're right. The Democratic party is a cop out and a trap. But our relationship isn't. Please come back—Noel.

I AM PLANNING to write some political reminiscences about The Shelter Half Coffee House. I hope that some of the GIs who passed through there in 1969-1971 will get in touch. Trust me, I won't treat you like Loose Change. Write to Barbara Garson at In These Times.

WOMAN BORN SEPT. 10 or thereabout, in her thirties, sought by male born March 10, 39, scientist; writer, producer, for the real thing: true love, marriage. Please write, enclosing picture. J. Friendly, 203 West 107, NYC 10025.

BOOKS

Eco-babble amidst the eco-technology

LIVING WITH ENERGY

By Ronald Alves (Photos by Charles Milligan)
Penguin Books, \$5.95

HOME ENERGY HOW-TO

By A.J. Hand
Harper & Row, \$9.95

It seems clear that the less energy we have at our disposal in the future, the more books we will have to read about it (or the lack of it). Two early entrants in the field are *Living With Energy*, by Ronald Alves, and *Home Energy How-To*, by A.J. Hand.

The energy crunch is hitting us hardest right where we live, so it is fortunate that a number of gifted thinkers, inventors, planners have addressed themselves to this unpleasant but inescapable reality. Each of these books, in its own way, provides a window into the world of solar, wind and water power, of "bio-fuels" and the other exotic fruits of environmentally responsible energy thinking.

Living With Energy is a slick product, sporting an eye-grabbing full-color cover and a mini-preface by guru Ralph Nader. The book, copiously illustrated with photographs, contains some 55 brief descriptive articles on notable home designs and other experimental enterprises which demonstrate domestic applications of "ecotechnology," both active and passive, and various "holistic" approaches to living in harmony with the environment.

While a fair amount of interesting information can be culled from these pages, the basic approach is rather shallow. Article heads such as "Water Beds in the Sky," "The Metaphysical Gymnasium," "Corson's Holistic Truncation" and "An Oregon Solar Affair" convey the tone of the tome, which is written throughout in this kind of insufferable ecobabble. As with shale oil, there is some question whether the product justifies the cost of extraction.

The appendix of information resources is one redeeming feature. While it is not well organized, it does point the way for those who wish to get deeper into the subject. All in all, the place for *Living With Energy* is on the coffee table.

For those whose aim is under-

standing and doing, A.J. Hand's *Home Energy How-To* is a treasure chest. It offers readers a wealth of information, both verbal and graphic. The discussions are clear and concise, the illustrations equally so. There are charts, tables, maps, even cost amortization tables—all aiding the reader in making important judgments, decisions and comparisons.

Although he deals with an amazing array of clever concepts and contraptions, Hand puts them in perspective, reminding us that as a nation we have a regrettable fondness for ingenious "high technology": we tend to oversolve our problems.

He begins with basics: examining our attitudes and habits regarding the use of energy and pointing out that the easiest and most effective investment most of us can make in conservation is a thorough job of insulating and otherwise weatherproofing our homes. In many cases, this mundane procedure will result in fuel savings of 50 percent or more. (Needless to say, as fuel costs continue to rise, the payoff will increase in value.) The most important aspect of this book is that it tells you *exactly* what you need to know to do this job or get it done properly.

Does solar water or space heating intrigue you? A thorough discussion of the principles, the basic systems, active and passive, the rationales for more complex systems and the pros and cons of specific hardware lays the subject bare.

Does wind generated electric power sound like a panacea? If you live in a remote area and have abundant wind, it may be practical, but know that to get service comparable to that supplied by Megalopolis Light and Power, you will probably have to invest enough to pay for two Mercedes sedans. And so on.

Each section contains comprehensive references to equipment suppliers and additional information of all kinds. Even for those dull individuals who are not impatient to get out and start building a manure-powered automobile, *Home Energy How-To* makes interesting reading and is a good investment of ten bucks.

—E.P. Stevenson
E.P. Stevenson is active in a neighborhood housing rehabilitation effort in Hoboken, N.J.

Les Deux Dragons Rouges

Cross-fertilized in France, these fiends to arrogance of wealth and beauty, pestilence and death, despoilers of despoilers, dispensed to dwarfs and other misbegotten peoples their anti-leech and anti-flea pills, their elixirs of rage, umbrage and courage, too, until they rose, ejected civilizations of rock-and-testicle crushers, pimp-incendiaries and warehouse exporters... and great was the honest copulation of the long continent.

sol newman



Poor people's foreign cooking can get to be very expensive

THE PEOPLES' COOK BOOK



THE PEOPLES' COOKBOOK

By Huguette Couffignal, translated and adapted by James Kardon
St. Martin's Press, 1977.

The Peoples' (sic) Cookbook is a translation and adaptation of *La Cuisine des Pauvres* (*Poor People's Cookery*). Its 310 pages include introductory material on The Peoples' Cooking, Diet, and Resources; a Guide to Ingredients and Utensils; a Shopping Guide; and over 300 recipes classified by subject (Breads and Pancakes, Grain Dishes, and so forth).

Despite the claim of the author (or the adaptor) that the Peoples' cooking can "teach you to eat for practically nothing," this is not a cookbook for poor people. One has to admire the humble cooks, who, over the ages and across every land, have made the best of what they could get. But ingredients that these cooks use because they're dirt cheap—seaweed, manioc meal, millet, nettles—are exotica in middle-class America, to

be found (if at all) in "gourmet," specialty or health food stores.

Further, Americans who find their food in supermarkets—probably most of the audience for this book—don't have the option of stretching the food budget by gleaning free goodies from the land. Our problem is not how to render a limited palette palatable, but how to cull reasonable flavor and nourishment from the stultifying variety on the supermarket shelves.

Economic considerations aside, is it a good cookbook?

It does bring together recipes from a lot of places, many of which are seldom (if ever) anthologized: Chinese lung soup, Indian banana peel curry, stimpstamp (Dutch potatoes and escarole), bouza (African sorghum pudding). But the descriptions and directions are not full and specific enough to reassure a beginner contemplating a totally unfamiliar dish. Details of size, color, and texture of the finished product are often absent.

The graceful line drawings scattered throughout are more decorative than informative (misinformative in at least one case: tamales are shown tied with string, a step not included in the instructions). Substitutions are occasionally suggested (confusingly, "barley or pea flour" for the oats in Scottish oatcakes). In the tortille recipe *masa harina* is equated with "fine corn meal," hardly the whole story. The recipes for potato kugel, potato pancakes, and chopped chicken liver all call for carrots, and the chopped liver doesn't call for hardboiled eggs. (This makes me

uneasy, though I recognize that my family's tradition is only one of many.)

As a social document, the book raises more questions than it answers. The line dividing Peoples from non-Peoples is not drawn clearly, leaving uncharted the wide latitude between the consumers of pate and truffles, on the one hand, and the consumers of insects, clay and guinea pigs, on the other. No attempt is made to suggest documentation for the recipes or to analyze the populations and regions from which they are drawn. (A number of dishes are not identified as to country of origin.)

The prefatory material describing "The Peoples' Resources" and much of the commentary preceding individual recipes seem to have been compiled largely for shock value, not to provide a comprehensive overview. The descriptions of an African elephant hunt ("In the torrid heat the stench rises to fill the jungle") and of rancid Tibetan yak butter ("so strong that the guest gags") are not without interest, if you're willing to settle for a Ripley's Believe-It-Or-Not of Third World cuisine.

The \$10 you shell out for this book will get you some unusual and intriguing recipes, some entertaining if arcane lore and a handsome design. It will also get you a stamped natural-colored burlap cover, one of the most expensive bindings commercially available and certainly impractical for a working cookbook.

—Hannah Solomon
Hannah Solomon is the author of Bake Bread.

IT'S AN OLD SAW BUT MUSIC TO THE EARS

BY DAVID HELVARG

At the age of 79 Tom Scribner continues to maintain two great loves, the musical saw and revolutionary politics. The musical saw, which he first learned to play in 1910, has provided him with a livelihood since he retired from the lumber industry at the age of 68. His involvement in radical politics goes back to 1915 when he joined the Industrial Workers of the World (Wobblies) in a Minneosta logging camp.

"Between capital and labor there can be no middle ground" he told a sociology class at San Diego State recently. "Capitalism is involved in a deepening crisis that will lead inevitably to social revolution. Marx, Engels, Gene Debs and Lenin all agreed on this." He notices the class's attention is beginning to drift.

"All right," he tells them. "I'm going to play you some music now." He pulls a battered black case out from behind the desk. "The Lost Sound" is written across its side. Out of the case he pulls a violin bow and a lumber saw.

"The musical saw was very popular at the turn of the century," he explains as he tunes up the blade. "A lot of the big bands had saws in them before the steel pedal guitar came over from Hawaii back in 1921."

He begins to play. The saw gives off an eerie resonating sound, like the distant trill of bagpipes. The students applaud warmly after each number.

"There are only a few saw players left in the United States," he explains. "I'm one of 40 in the musicians union. I've recorded with Neil Young, George Harrison, Leon Russell. I was up north in this bar when this George Harrison song came on the jukebox. 'Will you listen to that moog,' this guy sitting next to me says. 'That ain't no moog,' I tell him. 'That's me on the saw.'"

Having entertained his audience with music, he returns to his lecture.

Riding out West.

"I worked 54 years as a lumberjack," he says. "When I started out we earned \$26 dollars a month for a ten-hour day, 60 hours a week. We had no showerbaths. We slept 16 men to a bunkhouse. Each man had to provide his own bedding. The camps were vermin-ridden, lousy. The bosses didn't care."

"These conditions led to a lumber strike in the Lake States in 1915. The strike was led by the Wobblies."

"That strike was lost due to the fact that timber was being depleted in that region and most of the jacks were moving west. I was blacklisted in 1916 and, out of work, decided to join my partner riding the rails west," Scribner recalls.

"We arrived in Everett, Wash., during a free speech fight. The governor had declared martial law in the town and three Wobblies had been killed. We were met at the railroad depot by a couple of policemen who frisked us and after finding our Wobbly cards, beat us up and threw us in the bucket. Next morning they put us on the road to Seattle."

"That was just before we had the 1917 West Coast general strike in timber. It was a great success. We won the eight-hour day, clean camps and better pay. Of course the timber bosses tried to break the strike. They got a bunch of big Hoosiers together and called them the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen. They'd come in and try and break



Dave Randolph

"I was in this bar when George Harrison came on the jukebox. 'Listen to that moog,' this guy says. 'That ain't no moog,' I tell him. 'It's me on the saw.'"

up our meetings, but since we had most of the numbers they'd get most of the lumps.

"In 1919 we struck against having to carry our own bedrolls. We wanted the bosses to provide clean bedding. We set up pickets in front of the employment offices in Seattle, Eugene and Portland. We built huge bonfires out of our bedrolls. Each new jack in town would be greeted by a committee of five strikers who'd ask him to contribute his bedroll to the fire. One way or the other they always agreed. Pretty soon the signs in the employment offices stopped saying, 'must have own blankets' because there were no blankets left to have."

"We dealt with the bunkhouse problem pretty much the same way. We wanted eight men to a cabin, single bunks, the bosses wanted 16 men, double bunks. We just axed off the top bunks and threw them outside. The bosses got the idea."

Seattle General Strike.

Tom is often asked about the Seattle Gen-

eral Strike of 1919.

"That was really spooky," he says. "Labor just withheld its power. Nothing moved. The city was deserted. The cops wandered around with their clubs in their fists but there was nobody there for them to hit."

"The strike started on the docks. There was this French longshoreman, an old guy who was a veteran of the Paris Commune and a radical. One day they were loading crates bound for Russia. The crates were marked sewing machines but one broke open and it was full of guns, guns bound for Siberia to put down the Bolshevik revolution. Well, that French radical got up and led all the dockworkers in a walkout. Anna Louise Strong took the teachers out in solidarity. Soon the central labor council followed. The strike only lasted a few days, but it was an amazing few days."

Tom quit the Wobblies in 1923.

"The Wobblies had split in 1921. The split came over a letter Lenin sent asking the Wobblies to become the American

wing of the Communist Internationale. Well, some figured the Russians had beat us to the Revolution so we ought to take a few hints from them, others figured it was just a new bunch of politicians come into power. The Anarchists were against joining. Big Bill Haywood, John Reed and others went off and formed the new Communist party. I joined the party in 1928."

Depression times.

He pauses for a brief rest before discussing the great depression.

"When the stock market collapsed in 1929 I remember telling some friends in the party how it was no damn concern of mine since I held no stocks. 'Oh, it'll concern you, all right,' they said. Truer words... I was working a mill in Washington at the time. Right away the mill cut back to four days a week, then three days, then three days every other week. Well, by 1932 me and 20 million others were out of work. There was no social security or aid for dependent mothers or unemployment insurance. These were all demands we were making. It wasn't the Great Roosevelt of the history books who gave us these things. It was a reluctant Roosevelt who met these demands in order to save his industrialist friends."

"In the meantime, we took direct action. We'd organize three or four hundred people with shopping baskets to walk into a supermarket and load up with food. Then we'd walk out past the check-out counters. By the time the police arrived we'd be hitting another supermarket across town. That's how people avoided starvation. We'd also form mobs to stop people from being evicted."

"I went back to work in 1934," Tom continues. "We had some strikes organizing the Woodworkers Union into the CIO. But Earl Browder and the rest of the leadership destroyed the Communist party. They compromised their militancy. By 1945 they'd lost the support of labor and the Negroes. I quit in disgust."

In 1947 the Woodworkers union tried to kick Tom out for his leftist politics. They sent a representative of the International union to Redmond, Ore., where Tom was president of the local. "I offered to resign but the men wouldn't hear of it," he recalls with a twinkle in his eye. "That guy must have thought Redmond was some sort of hotbed of subversion."

In the 1950s Tom worked as a river pig, rafter, boom man, loader, chocker-setter, just about every job a lumberman could do.

Starting in the late '50s he edited the *Redwood Ripsaw*, a newsletter based in Eureka, Calif. The paper attacked such problems as industry speed-up, automation and the war in Vietnam.

After a brief stint working a Redwood mill in the mid '60s Tom retired to Santa Cruz.

Still a communist.

There he took up the musical saw again, taught a class at the university and entertained at student rallies and demonstrations. While teaching at the university Tom was visited by the FBI.

"These two dudes come up to my house. I asked them what they wanted. 'Well, Tom,' one of them says, 'we'd like to know if you're still a communist.' 'Well you know damn well I am,' I told them. Well they looked kind of embar-

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